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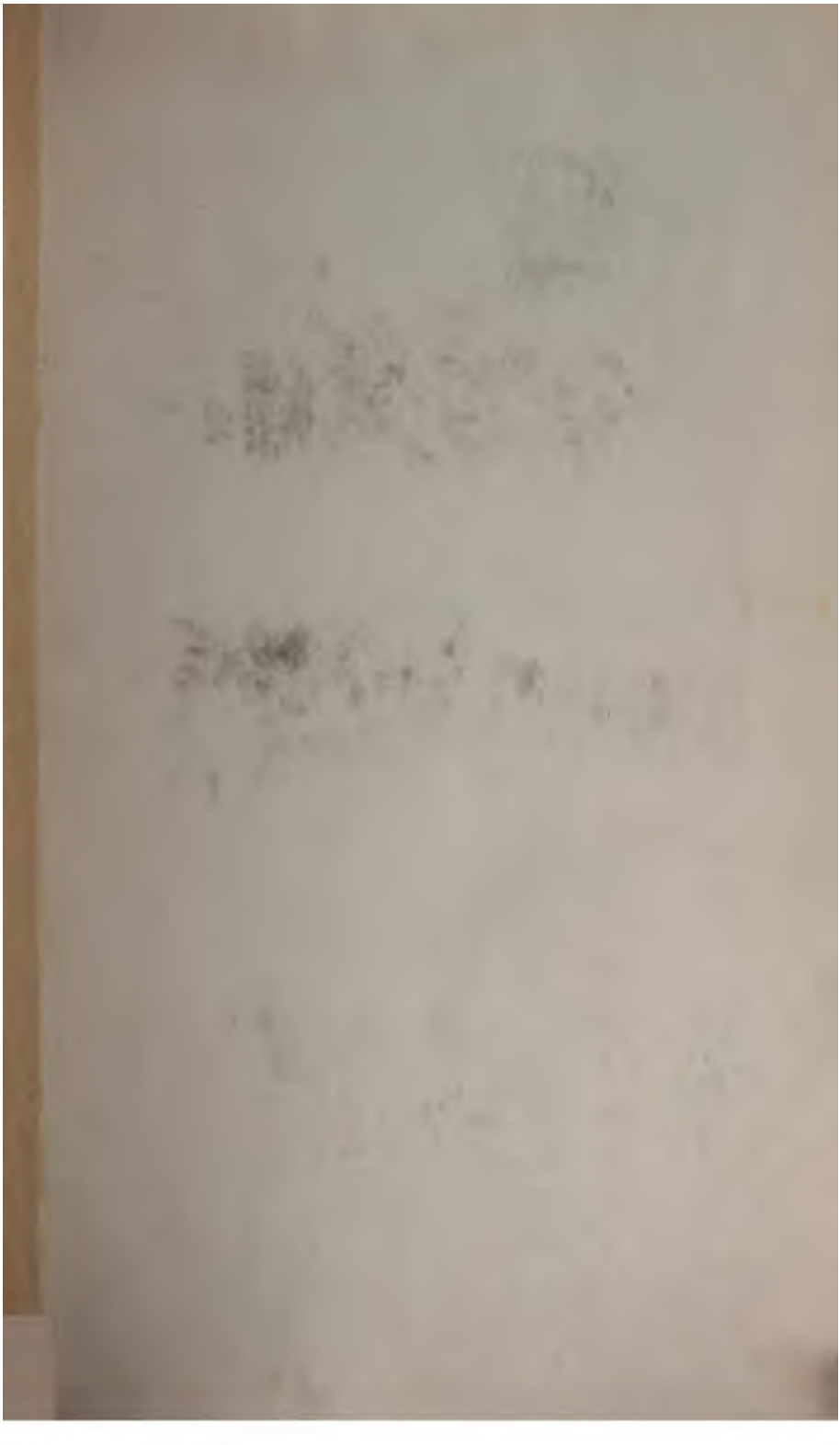
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Greek Gr. Class





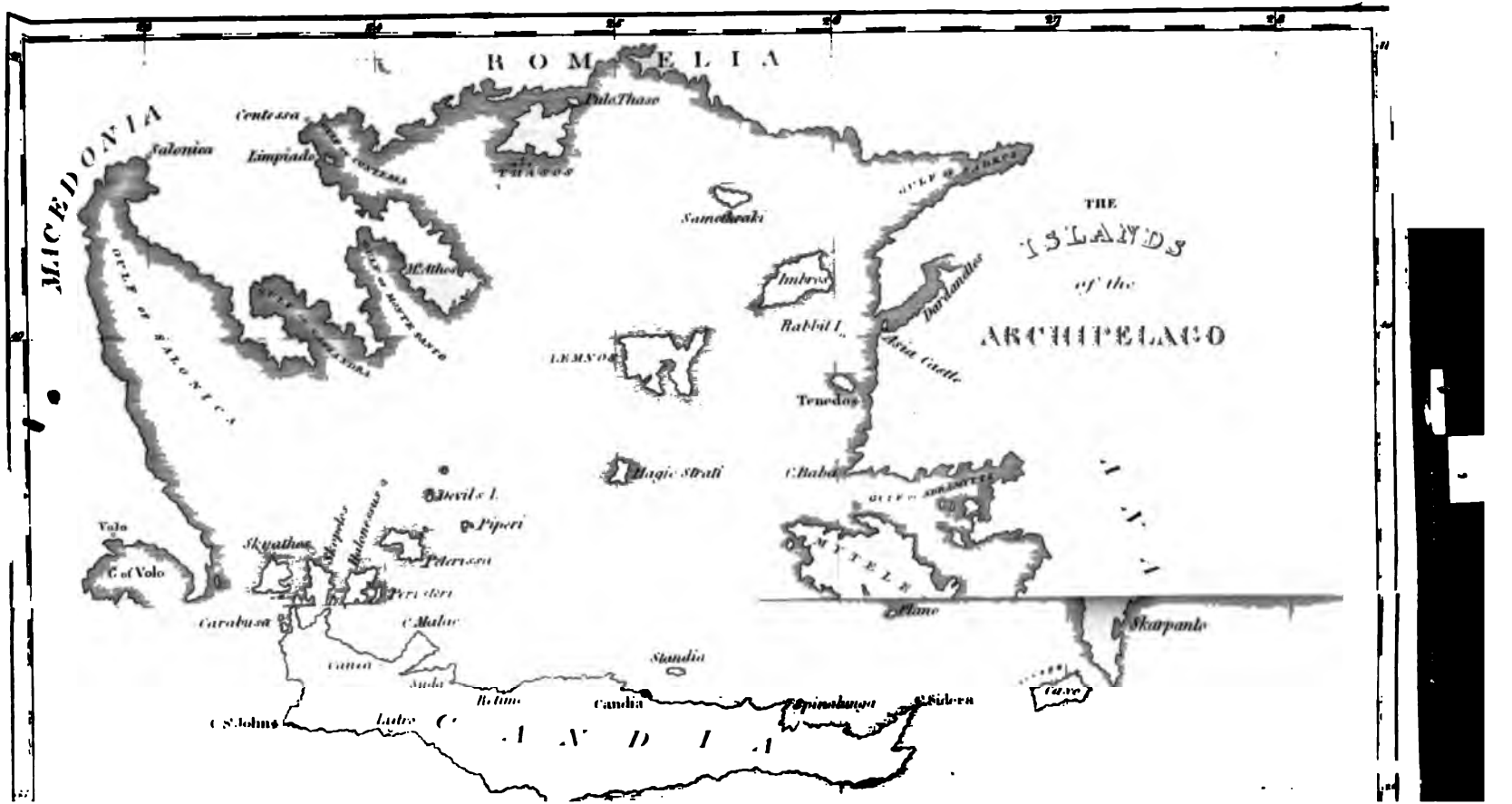
HISTORY

OF

THE GREEK REVOLUTION.



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M. Athos
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of the
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Imbros
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Devils I.
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Skopelos
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C. of Volo
Peri deri
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C. Malio
Canea
Suda
Retimo
Candia
Standia
C. St. John's
Lasti
Spinalonga
C. Sidero
Plano
Skarpanto
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HISTORY

OF THE

GREEK REVOLUTION,

AND OF THE

WARS AND CAMPAIGNS

ARISING FROM THE

STRUGGLES OF THE GREEK PATRIOTS IN EMANCIPATING THEIR COUNTRY FROM THE TURKISH YOKE.

BY THE LATE

THOMAS GORDON, F.R.S.

OF MINTLAW, IN CAIRNESS, ABERDEENSHIRE,

GENERAL OF A DIVISION OF THE GREEK ARMY, AND A ZEALOUS PROMOTER OF THE CAUSE.

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HISTORY

OF

THE GREEK REVOLUTION.

BOOK THIRD.

CHAP. I.

Assembly of Astros—Transactions in Peloponnesus, the Archipelago, and Eastern Greece, till the middle of the year 1823.

SECTION I.

HOWEVER severe the suffering of the insurgent population may appear to have been during the period we have gone over; however small their progress towards a well-constituted polity, yet amidst the confusion, the discord, and the civil wars of a posterior epoch, the Greeks, looking back on the fervour and comparative harmony that reigned amongst them in 1821 and 1822, fondly styled those the two happy years!

Afraid each moment of being overwhelmed by the enemy, their energies had been called into action by the necessity of repelling his attacks; the danger of invasion continually cut short their incipient disputes, and roused them from the lethargy into which they were sometimes disposed to fall. In 1823, their revolution underwent a new phase; excessively elated with the advantages they had gained over the Ottoman fleets and armies, astonished at their own success, many of them (and particularly the Peloponnesians, who were farthest removed from peril), thought less of accom-

plishing their independence, than of securing the principal authority among their countrymen, and converting to their individual use the slender resources of the state. The supineness of the Turks encouraged such ideas; for, as if exhausted by past efforts, the Porte carried on hostilities against her revolted Christian subjects in so languishing and inefficient a way, that it excited as much of contempt as apprehension. In the ordinary Oriental style, the Sultan's ministry boasted and threatened; Salik, Pasha of Adrianople, received orders to invade the Morea with 80,000 men. Mustai (or Mustafa), Vizier of Skodra, was commanded to descend upon Messalonghi with 40,000; Yussuf Pasha, Omer Vriones, &c., were to co-operate with various subsidiary corps, and it was announced that the new Grand Admiral would sweep the seas with 120 ships of war. But the mountain brought forth a mouse; and the nullity of their operations in the subsequent campaign, proved how weak the Moslems really were. The first and most considerable military event that occurred in Peloponnesus, was the retreat from Corinth of the residue of Dramali's forces, whose position at the Isthmus, become useless after the surrender of Napoli, could no longer be maintained for want of supplies, an English merchantman, which was conveying to them 150,000 okes of flour (besides salt and onions), having been cut out of the port of Cenchreæ, by Greek boats from Salamis. Leaving 800 Albanians in the Acrocorinthus, the surviving Pashas, Ali and Hassan, went by sea, with 1000 sick and wounded men, to Patrass, which they reached on the 5th of February. The Delhi Bashee Ahmed led by land towards the same place the rest of the troops, reckoned at 3500, of whom one-third consisted of cavalry, with rations for five days. In order to conceal their plan, and gain time, they made a demonstration on the side of Megaris, as though they had intended to traverse Roumelia. On the 26th of

January, there arrived a courier at Athens, from the Dervend, craving succour, because the advanced posts were attacked by the Turks; next day, a second despatch intimated that the enemy had withdrawn, and taken the road along the southern shore of the gulf. Seven or eight hundred Greeks pursued and observed their march, keeping the crest of the hills above. The coast of Achaia is generally flat and open to a distance of two or three miles from the sea; but it is interrupted here and there by bluff promontories, and by many rivers, which, after rain or snow, are broad, full, and rapid. Creeping painfully onwards a space of fourteen leagues, the Turks passed the Cape of Mavra Litharia (or the black rocks), jutting into the sea between Zakouli and Akrata. At that point their progress was arrested by a circumstance which ought to have been propitious to them. The Primates of Vostizza were divided by private quarrels; and old Zaimis and Meletopoulos had each assembled a body of retainers to decide their differences by force of arms, when they learned the approach of the Mohammedans: they instantly suspended their dispute, united their bands, and intrenching themselves on the slope of a woody mountain, along which the road passes, sent to Kalavryta for reinforcements; while the corps that had tracked the foe from Corinth, occupied the straits behind Mavra Litharia. Thus enclosed, the Turks, after two spiritless attempts to open a way either in front or rear, resigned themselves to their fate with true Mussulman apathy: they were masters of the plain and Han of Akrata, as well as the bridge over the river Crathis, but they quickly consumed their stock of rations, and the number of their enemies was daily augmenting, Andreas Zaimis, Londos, and Odysseus having crossed the gulf from Messalonghi, and detachments hastening down from the upper valleys of Arcadia. Yussuf Pasha went to their relief with his

flotilla, but was driven off by stormy weather, without being able to do any thing for them; he then despatched a few boats, laden with provisions, which he was not ashamed to sell at a high price. As these supplies were quite inadequate to their wants, the famished soldiers, after eating all their horses, existed on the flesh of their dead comrades, and even fought over the graves. They bore this misery for six weeks, until hunger and disease reduced them to such a state, that it would have been easy to put them to the sword, if certain Greek captains, wishing to monopolize the spoil, had not objected to an attack. Four Albanian Beys gave themselves up to Odysseus, and the whole body was treating for a capitulation,* when at length, in the middle of March, the Pasha again sending his own flotilla, and three European transports, brought off a remnant of perhaps 2000, more resembling blackened skeletons than men. At Patrass, they died at the rate of twenty a day, so that a very small proportion of those who entered Peloponnesus, under the banners of Dramali, ever quitted that peninsula. As soon as they marched away from Corinth, the Greeks, without loss of time, established a fresh blockade of the Acrocorinthus.

The term of administration allotted to the provisional government installed at Piada, had now expired, and the decree convoking another congress had been issued for some weeks; but the winter campaign in continental Greece, and the dilatory manner in which the people proceeded to choose their representatives, had hitherto prevented the accomplishment of that measure. At last, in the months of February and March, the Hellenic deputies came together in great numbers at Astros, where they named Petro Bey president, and Theo-

* The capitulation would not have saved their lives, for the insurgents had conceived a design of sending them to perish amongst the snows of Mount Cyllene.

dore Negris secretary, of the second National Assembly. Business at Piada had been promptly and quietly transacted, but on the present occasion there prevailed a vehement degree of ambitious animosity, and the congress was broken into two fractions of unequal strength. The smaller of the two (the military party), had for its leaders Colocotroni, Ypsilanti, and Odysseus, and its object was to partition the country into districts under the Capitanei, who were to manage the war as they thought fit, and to relegate the civil magistrates to their ancient functions of receiving and paying over the pecuniary contributions, and replenishing the magazines: in other words, to subject Greece to more than thirty companies of robbers, who would have been constantly fighting with each other. The faction of their opponents (the Primates), was headed by the Bey of Mainà, Anagnosti Delhiyani, Andreas Zaimis, and Londos, who commanded the Assembly's guard of 300 soldiers. In the multiplicity of questions submitted to them, and relating to the army, navy, finance, and jurisprudence, it was easy to find specious grounds of controversy; what alone, however, seriously occupied their minds, was the nomination of a new executive council, as on that the issue of the dispute seemed to hinge. A garden of orange and lemon trees was the spot selected for their sittings; and as the two parties refused to mingle, the bed of a brook afforded a line of demarcation, across which they communicated by messages. Frequently they were on the point of coming to blows, and it is hard to say how or when their session might have terminated, had it not been for the opportune arrival of Mavrocordato, who came from Messalonghi, attended by some Roumeliote captains, and 100 armed men. He experienced a flattering mark of public respect, the whole assembly going forth two hours' journey on the Tripolizza road, to meet and

welcome him. This incident turned the scale in favour of the Primates, Mavrocordato's natural allies, on account of his rivalship, and their enmity to Ypsilanti. Several deputies deserted the contrary side, the principal islanders, (Condouriotti, Orlando, &c.) who had hitherto stood aloof, now enacted the part of mediators, and Colocotroni pretending to yield, a hollow reconciliation took place. Petro Bey, raised to the highest dignity in the state, exchanged his presidency of the congress for that of the executive power, and Sotiri Karalambi, Andreas Zaimi, and Count Andreas Metaxa (a bosom friend and adviser of Colocotroni), were appointed his colleagues in the supreme council; the nomination of a fifth member being adjourned until after the government should have sat down at Tripolizza, when it was proposed to pay the islanders the compliment of referring to them the choice of a proper person. Mavrocordato accepted the office of Secretary of State. A few slight changes and additions were introduced into the organic law of Epidaurus; of these the most important were, the confirmation of two decrees, one of which (emanating from Corinth, and dated May 12, 1822), suppressed all local and provincial jurisdictions: the other published at Hermione, on the 21st of November, prescribed the mode and forms to be observed in electing representatives. The first, the corner-stone of Mavrocordato's system of centralization, was of course palatable to men in power, but could not be carried into plenary execution, except in the smallest and weakest islands. Indeed, the experience of ages has proved, that if Greeks are to adhere to republican institutions, federalism suits them best, and that monarchy alone can knit them together. The command of the Peloponnesian militia being continued to Colocotroni, Mark Bozzaris was named Generalissimo (Stratarch) of

Western, and Odysseus of Eastern Greece, and the latter received a positive, though insincere promise, that within a month, 9000 men should march to his assistance from the Morea.

The assembly of Astros, the most numerous national congress ever convened in Greece, closed on the 28th of April, after a stormy session ; its acts were signed by upwards of 260 deputies, comprehending the Archbishop of Arta, the Bishops of Modon, Vresthenes, Androussa, and Talanta, the Generals Colocotroni, Odysseus, and Yatrako, all the Moreote Kojabashees, and the Primates of Hydra, Spezzia, and Psarra. So irregularly had the elections been conducted, that while Hydra sent eight, and Crete but seven representatives, eighteen appeared from Kassos, and nineteen from Egina ! The final scene of this turbulent parliament was of a piece with the rest, for, at the moment it broke up, the clamours of a company of its guard which had not been paid, compelled the richer members to subscribe a sum of 4000 piastres.

As the new executive counsellors declined trusting their persons to the discretion of Colocotroni, whose influence was paramount at Nauplia, they went to reside at Tripolizza, that city having fully recovered from its sack and ruin in 1821.

Through their jealousy of each other, both Ypsilanti and Mavrocordato were now lowered from their previous eminence, the first being entirely neglected and laid aside, and his rival holding a second-rate office ; the supreme authority was lodged in natives of the insurgent provinces, and it remained to be seen how far the latter were capable of handling it. At Tripolizza, they were to give the finishing touch to the arrangements left incomplete at Astros ; but it soon became evident that the accommodation so hastily patched up there was but a brief truce, which could



not smother the latent discontents. An understanding existed, that George Condouriotti should assume the post of president of the legislative body; however, when the day arrived for swearing him in, to the surprise of the spectators, his brother-in-law Orlando presented himself and took the oath. This unexpected alteration mortally offended the Spezziotes and Psarrians, who declared they would rather separate from the confederacy than suffer a Hydriote of such slender repute as Orlando to be chief of the Senate. Perceiving how utterly unpopular his appointment was, he in about a month resigned it, and retired to Hydra, abandoning his functions to the vice-president Theodoret, Bishop of Vresthenes, whose dissolute life gave so much scandal, that in the middle of summer he was glad to skulk away into Laconia, where his diocese lay. Meanwhile Colocotroni retrieved the political defeat he had sustained at Astros; Metaxa was his coadjutor in every thing, and he had no great difficulty in conciliating Petro Bey, as greedy of money as himself, though more profuse in spending it.

It hath been remarked by attentive observers of the march of faction in Greece, that the party of Primates, when united, was an overmatch for all else, but that it seldom long preserved the requisite harmony, and was always torn by discord a moment after victory. Such was the case in the present instance, for hardly had the government settled itself at Tripolizza, when Anagnosti Delhiyani, a man born for mischief, whose deformed body was an index of his grovelling mind, fell off from his associates, and began to intrigue with Colocotroni, desiring to obtain through the latter's support the presidency of the Senate. Theodore Negris, too, stung to the quick by the omission of his name in the list of offices, inflamed the passions of the Peloponnesian Generalissimo. Seceding with some friends (May

the 30th) to a village beyond Tegea, Colocotroni demanded the convocation of a fresh national assembly, and in order to appease his wrath, it was found necessary to admit him into the Executive with the title of vice-president. Before getting a place in the government, he would not allow any legal authority to be constituted at Nauplia, but now, as a mark of reconciliation, he permitted Vlasi of Argos to enter it as civil governor. Colliopoulo, who commanded the garrison of 300 men, displeased that his brother-in-law should have coalesced with the family of Delhiyani, to which he was personally inimical, evacuated the fortress, and, to liquidate the arrears of his troops, seized the revenue of the province of Katonachaia,* in which it is situated: Panos Colocotroni took upon him in his uncle's stead the military command of Napoli, where many refugees from Scio, Aivali, Smyrna, &c., had domiciliated themselves in the houses and shops left vacant by the Turks.

Indulging their love of power and gold, busied in embezzling the public monies, Petro Bey and Colocotroni thought not of the war; however, the expostulations of the Senate, and the remonstrances of the Roumeliote captains, having obliged them to affect an appearance of activity, Nikitas received orders to lead 3000 soldiers into Northern Greece, and it was agreed that Zaimis and Metaxa should besiege Patrass, while the other three members of the Executive went towards Attica. They set forth accordingly for their different destinations; but Metaxa, without assigning any reason, suddenly turned back from Kalavryta, and rejoined his three colleagues at Klementi, a village of Corinthia. At the same time, Colocotroni, learning that in Karitena Colliopoulo was fighting with the Delhiyanei, made that a pretext for going thither to assuage their

* Under this barbarous appellation are included the territories of Trœzene, Hermione, and Asine.

feud; and as he was determined never to pass the bounds of Peloponnesus, the Executive body granted him an ample delegation to administer its civil and military affairs, in return for which he engaged to forward troops and provisions; the Bey of Maina, Sotiri, and Metaxa, proceeded to Salamis. While Colocotroni strove in vain to pacify the hostile parties in Karitena, where a petty civil war continued till near the end of this year, a serious misunderstanding occurred at Tripolizza. In opposition to the pretensions of Anagnosti Delhiyani, the legislative council wished to put at its head Mavrocordato, who, although he really aspired to that dignity, was yet so much intimidated by the outcries of the military faction, that he declined the presidency until summoned to the bar of the Senate, July the 23d, and threatened with a prosecution. Three days afterwards the furious menaces of Colocotroni's partisans induced him to tender his resignation, and even to fly to Hydra, judging his person to be no longer safe at Tripolizza. Indeed, it is probable that he would not have been allowed to depart unmolested, if Zaimis had not hastened from Kalavryta with an armed force for his protection. The Hydriotes treated him as a friend, espoused his quarrel, and did not thenceforth dissemble their hatred of the Moreotes, and especially of Colocotroni. Murmuring and discontented, the legislative body slowly followed the Executive to Salamis, still persisting to consider Mavrocordato as their president, and to address him as such in their official correspondence. In the summer of 1823, the Greeks began to revolve the question of inviting a foreign prince; one Mavrocordato, (a Sciote merchant,) coming from Trieste, mentioned the name of Jerome Bonaparte, adding the absurd proposal that a ship should be sent to bring him away in disguise. However preposterous the idea of electing a Sovereign who possessed neither

credit, reputation, nor political appui, some leading men deliberated on the subject; whereupon Alexander Mavrocordato and Trikoupi pointed out to them, that if they were to search abroad for a King, the Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg would be a fitter choice. The matter was then dropped, but this plan of calling a stranger to the throne, having been divulged, met with the approbation of a numerous class of patriots, sick of the folly and base selfishness of their native chiefs.

SECTION II.

After the conclusion of an armistice betwixt Odysseus and Mehemet Pasha, the tranquillity of Eastern Greece was only troubled at long intervals by sorties of the Ottoman garrison of Negropont, amounting to 300 horse and 1500 infantry. Although said to be provisioned for three years, the want of fresh meat, and of fodder for their horses, compelled them to attempt sallies; and as the Eubœan insurgents, posted at a distance of three leagues, hindered them from foraging the interior of the isle, they ravaged the mainland, to which they had easy access by the Castle of Karababa, on the other side of the Euripus. In the beginning of February they made an excursion to Marcopoli in Attica; early in March they repeated the experiment, and on both occasions took prisoners and cattle; and about the 25th of May, 1000 Turks, penetrating to Thebes, killed or enslaved 300 peasants. On the 16th of February, the commandant of the Acropolis, Captain Ghouras, celebrated his nuptials with a virgin of good family from Lidoriki, and the whole city shared in his festivities; with the usual thoughtlessness of Greeks, a great deal of valuable powder was wasted in a continual discharge of cannon and small arms, and

besides a splendid dinner to the rich, the soldiers received a distribution of wine, bread, and rice, and the poor of corn.

On the 7th of March, a French corvette brought to the Piræus some Christian families ransomed from captivity at Smyrna, and by the same opportunity came sundry letters, addressed by Athenian Turks to their Greek acquaintances, and begging pecuniary aid in their misery; a trait of *bonhommie* worthy of being recorded!

Odysseus returned from the congress of Astros, May the 17th, escorted by 300 guards, and with that distrust inseparable from his nature, avoided the multitude which had gone out to meet him, and stole into town, where the Ephors and principal citizens paid their court to him. Two days after, he invited the Primates and several captains to the citadel, and in a discourse, marked by sagacity, explained to them the actual posture of affairs. "The Moreotes," said he, "think of themselves alone, and care not for the other Greeks; therefore, if they do not, within the term of three weeks, send us the succours they have promised, we must with our own small means, employing by turns force and duplicity, endeavour to defend our province." Mehemet Pasha had already, April 16th, written to announce that the armistice was ended, but it did not appear that the Turks were as yet ready to open the campaign; for a spy, whom the Athenians despatched into Thessaly, reported that in April, they had no more than 2000 troops at Zeituni, and 3000 at Larissa. Neither were these altogether disposable, a revolt having again broken out in twenty-four villages of the district of Volo: however, with the fine season, troops came down from the north, and an Ottoman column, marching thither in May, defeated the Magnesians with great loss, and burned twenty of the refrac-

tory villages. In the same month, symptoms of the plague showed themselves in Attica, and Dionysius, Archbishop of Athens, died of that malady on the 23d, a few days after his return from the Archipelago. During the spring, hostilities were carried on in the southern part of Eubœa, where Omer Bey of Carysto commanded the Turks, and the Greeks were headed by Nicholas Griziotti, a native of the same town; the latter's colleague, Vasso, had been arrested and imprisoned at Athens, accused of practising too assiduously his old trade of a robber; but the true reason of his disgrace was, his corresponding with Diamantis, the enemy and rival of Odysseus.

On the 17th of May, a brisk combat took place under the walls of Carysto, to the disadvantage of the Mohammedans, who left thirty-six dead on the field; their wounded were numerous, and the Greeks brought in seven prisoners. The fugitives spread consternation through the town, and it was with difficulty that the Bey prevented the populace from massacring all the Christian inhabitants. Notwithstanding Omer's prudence and resolution, his fortress must have fallen through famine, if it had not been relieved by the seasonable approach of the Ottoman fleet. Conceiving that the misfortunes of the two former naval campaigns were to be attributed to the unwieldy bulk of its line-of-battle ships, the Porte resolved in the present year to use solely frigates and lighter vessels, deeming that class more proper to contend with the active Greek marine. Upon the dismissal of Kara Mehemet, Khosref Pasha, an old lame man, addicted to pleasure, was elevated to the rank of High Admiral: we must grant, that he was not devoid of talents as a courtier, since he knew how to retain his Sovereign's favour, but his warlike actions proved that, in point of courage and nautical science, he was little superior to his predecessor.

On the 1st and 2d of May, the fleet quitted Constantinople, and the Sultan himself did the Capitan Pasha the signal honour of accompanying him for several miles on his course towards the Dardanelles, where he waited above a fortnight for his transports; while the Algerine squadron, forming his vanguard, scoured the Egean as far as Scio, and off Lesbos had nearly taken a Psarrian corvette, which escaped by kindling a quantity of dry sea-weed, and thus involving herself in smoke. Sailing from the Hellespont on the 23d, Khosref Pasha steered to the southward, with fifteen noble frigates, thirteen corvettes, twelve brigs, and forty transports, and having shipped on board the latter (partly at the isles of Mosconisi and partly at Tchesmè), 10,000 Anatolian troops, stood towards Eubœa, leaving Psarra and Samos behind him. As the insurgents had never doubted that he would begin by attacking one or both of those islands, a sense of duty and general advantage got the better of their pride and jealousy, and a Hydriote division went to assist in defending Psarra. Nevertheless the united Greek squadrons did not endeavour to oppose the Turkish Admiral's passage, but merely sent out fourteen sail to observe his motions, and as soon as he was gone the Hydriotes bent their course homewards.

On the 4th of June, the Capitan Pasha, touching at Carysto, immediately threw into the place a supply of provisions, and a reinforcement of 3000 or 4000 soldiers: the bands of Griziotti dispersed, and the Turks marching out burned the town of Koumiss, celebrated for its wine, and more than sixty villages. Having raised the blockade of Carysto, and despatched a number of vessels to revictual Negropont, Khosref Pasha appeared on the 9th off Cape Colonna and Hydra; the Hydriotes ranged a part of their navy in order of battle in the strait betwixt their isle and the mainland, but he paid

no attention to them. Prosecuting his voyage, he sent a squadron to Canea, relieved Modon and Coron, and on the 20th anchored in the roads of Patrass, with forty-six men-of-war and several transports. He found the garrison there quiet and unmolested, for eleven sail of Greeks that blocked it during winter and spring, disappeared in April, and owing to the distracted state of Elis and Arcadia, Zaimis had been unable to keep a body of troops together.

When the Capitan Pasha left the Archipelago, the enterprising Psarrians, as if to demonstrate their contempt of the enemy's threats, undertook an expedition on a great scale against the coast of Asia. Putting to sea with a flotilla composed of thirteen armed vessels, seventeen large transports, and 108 small schooners, mistiks, and boats, carrying, besides the seamen, a corps of 575 Roumeliote soldiers, they made a descent at Sanderli. After placing some pieces of cannon on the heights to protect their advance, they defeated the Turks in a smart action, pillaged and burned the town, as well as a number of hamlets and farms in the neighbourhood, and possessed themselves of a battery mounting eight guns, seven of which they conveyed on board their shipping: thirty Greeks fell in the engagement, and seventy were wounded. Exclusive of great spoil in corn and cattle, they seized the harem of the rich and powerful Aga, Kara Osman Oglou, a prize which procured them a heavy sum by way of ransom. They then landed on the isles of Mosconisi, sacked them with equal fury, and after visiting the shores of Mitylene, taking there five Ottoman Sacolevas, and exacting 15,000 piastres for the liberation of a part of their captives, re-entered Psarra, loaded with plunder. At the same period, the Samians effected a disembarkation in Ionia, burned the village of Ipsili, and insulted Clazomenæ. These successful aggressions caused an extreme

exasperation among the Turks, who flocked in thousands to Sanderli: it was too late, however; the insurgents had departed, and left only flames and ashes. Disappointed in their project of punishing the invaders, the Mussulmans vented their rage on Pergamus, a flourishing town, which had hitherto been exempt from commotion. On the 21st of June, a large body of men (chiefly Turkumans) broke into the houses, and slaughtered about 1000 Christians; the residue, amounting to double that number, was saved by the exertions of the Aga. Many Greeks also were killed at Kivrisail, and the same thing would have happened throughout Mysia, Ionia, and Eolia, but for the laudable efforts of the local governors. On learning the fate of Pergamus, the Pasha of Broussa instantly detached a party of troops under his Kihaya, who restored order, by making a severe example of the ringleaders in the late catastrophe.

We must now describe some previous tumults in the Archipelago, proceeding not less from the people's reluctance to pay taxes, than from the fanatical hatred which subsisted between the Latins and the Greeks. The Catholics, dead to the blessings of liberty, and sacrificing every lofty feeling to blind bigotry, and the insinuations of their priests, asserted an extraordinary pretension, that because they disapproved of the revolution, and preferred wallowing in the mire of Turkish servitude, therefore they were entitled to remain neutral, and refuse their quota of public burdens, in a territory occupied by the arms of Hellas, to which, if not voluntarily annexed, they were at least subject by right of conquest. Unable to defend themselves, and neglected by their dear Sultan, whose legitimacy they were for ever harping upon, they cast many an imploring look towards the banner of France, and supplicated its protection. But as a direct interference in their behalf,

when they were so evidently in the wrong, would have been too flagrant an assumption of illegal power, Monsieur de Rigny (the new French commodore) could only shield them from unauthorized acts of rapine, and obtain for them, by his good offices, a fair assessment. Syra, which had gained infinitely by the war, was the most contumacious: the Catholics there uttered cries of impotent rage at the bare idea of obeying a schismatical Eparch, and those of Naxos and Santorin joined in chorus with them. The Hydriotes, charged by the Greek government to levy the tributes of the Archipelago, soon set the question at rest, by fitting out, in April, a squadron of fourteen ships of war, which went round the isles. Syra paid 40,000 piastres in cash, and 9000 in stores; Santorin, 60,000 piastres; Naxos, 30,000 piastres, 600 okes of oil, 300 barrels of wine, 40 kantars of cheese, 100 oxen, and as many sheep: in addition to this, the obstinacy of the Latins was chastised by the ravage which the Hydriote mariners committed in their fields.

A circumstance of a different complexion gave the French commodore an opportunity of exercising with honour the powers vested in him. Fazzioli, that Zantiote scoundrel who had before twice attempted to plunder Syra, renewed his criminal design in the course of the present summer. On the 16th of July he sailed into the port in a brig carrying twenty guns, and declared to the trembling Syriotes, that he was appointed commissary of police. He landed at the head of some Roumeliotes, collected the vagabonds of the place, and was preparing to use violence, when Monsieur de Rigny, who had not lost sight of him, arrived on the 17th, in the frigate Medea, and immediately seized his brig. Fazzioli concealed himself on board a Cefalonian vessel, but being discovered, arrested, and sent in irons to the Ionian Islands, was condemned to imprisonment in a fortress.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK III.—CHAP. I.

Letter written by the Turkish Officers to Odysseus, dated from Larissa, March 21, / April 2, O.S., 1823.

Respected and well-beloved friend, Captain Odysseus Androuzzos! We salute you, and make known, that your absolute silence, since the period when we conferred together and exchanged hostages, gives rise to suspicion, especially seeing, that we on our parts, and that of his Highness (Mehemet Pasha), have exactly observed our promises. We therefore herewith send you back your two hostages, and request you, in order to cut short all uncertainty and tranquillize our minds, to despatch some men of sagacity, that we may come to a perfect understanding. This is the favourable moment, since our lord, the Roumeli Valesi, Serasker, and Dervend Agasi (Yussuf Pasha), is furnished with full powers from the Porte, and is entirely devoted to the public good, and the interests of the poor people. If no accommodation can be brought about, your men shall return unhurt, and you may take your measures, as we shall take ours, according to the expediency of the case. In fulfilment of our duty to humanity, we offer you the choice of a general peace, and exhort you to reflect on the extent of calamity which these disorders have produced. We acknowledge one God, and have a just law, which teaches us to pity our inferiors: we think, in fine, that opposition to established government never ends well.

(Signed with their seals) The Khasnadar, Ali Aga.
Selatos Bey.
Mustafa Bey.

CHAP. II.

Campaign of 1823 in Eastern and Western Greece.

SECTION I.

BEFORE passing Mount Oeta, the Turkish generals again endeavoured to shake the fidelity of Odysseus, by sending from Zeituni a courier, who arrived at Athens (June the 12th) with letters from several Beys, exhorting that chieftain to enter into a treaty: by the same opportunity came intelligence that Captain Papa Andreas had fought a sharp and bloody skirmish with the enemy near the bridge of Alamanna, and that the Ottoman troops were concentrating themselves in the south of Thessaly.

In the course of a few days, three expresses, despatched by the captains of Livadia, brought information that 6000 Turks had invaded Phocis and Bœotia, and were wasting the face of the country. Yussuf Pasha* (the same who in 1821 took Galatz and Yassy) commanded this corps, and occupied, without resistance, Salona and Livadia; he made himself master of Rakhova, and near it had a smart action with 500 Greeks posted in the defile of Triodos: they repulsed an attack in front, but seeing their flank turned were forced ultimately to retreat. The enemy then penetrated into the mountains, ascended Helicon, burning the villages and convents,

* Called by the Greeks Yussuf Bercofezli, because, before his appointment to the Pashalik of Ibrail, he had been Ayan of Perkofftsha, in Bulgaria.

and advanced as far as the famous monastery of St Luke; while the Pasha of Negropont, with 800 horse, encamped at Thebes and reaped the wheat harvest. According to their custom, whenever danger pressed, the Athenians, on the first news of the progress of the Mohammedans, hastily removed their families and effects to Salamis, and the Eparch (Drosos Mansolas) wrote a note to the foreign consuls, advising them to provide for their own safety, as the Turks were approaching, and the Greek authorities could not be responsible for what might happen. Odysseus, embarrassed on every side, found it no easy matter to protect the provinces that acknowledged him as Generalissimo: the government at Tripolizza had utterly neglected its promise of sending reinforcements to enable him to defend Thermopylæ, his soldiers refused to march without their arrears of pay, and the Ephors of Athens declined disbursing a sum of 45,000 piastres, which he demanded for that purpose. The municipality, however, was obliged to yield, money was raised, and Odysseus, after publishing a proclamation to animate the people, took the field on the 23d with 600 men, and proceeded by way of Salamis, Megara, and Dobrena, leaving Ghouras with 200 soldiers to guard the Acropolis. From the direction of Yussuf Pasha's march, it seemed to be his intention to reach the Corinthian Gulf, and, embarking his army on board the Capitan Pasha's fleet, to carry the war into the Morea: as there was nothing to hinder the execution of such a plan, the idea of it alarmed the Peloponnesians, and induced them to take precautionary measures. In the beginning of July, Nikitas came to Kerata Pyrgo, on the Attic borders, to consult with Odysseus, and detachments of Moreote troops crossed daily from Piada to Megara. Not daring to face the Serasker's cavalry and superior numbers, Odysseus contented himself with

hovering round the Moslems, and cutting them off in detail; and Captain Papa Andreas, doing the same in the straits of Oeta, intercepted a convoy of above 100 mule-loads of provisions coming from Zeituni. Encouraged too by a fortunate expedition, the peasants of Megaris, forming themselves into guerilla parties, greatly harassed the Turks, and Nikitas with his Peloponnesians supported them in this most effective method of warfare, which compelled the Serasker to quit the hills, and return into the plains about Thebes and Livadia, where it was easier to maintain his cavalry.

On the night of the 18th of July, Odysseus surprised one of the enemy's divisions negligently encamped on the banks of the Cephisus, dispersed it, and captured part of their magazines, with many horses and camels. His reputation was now high among the Ottomans, and he kept up a fallacious correspondence with their Pashas, Yussuf and Salik, who, by brilliant offers, tried to persuade him to betray to them Eastern Greece.

Failing in this, they, towards the end of the month, divided their army into two bodies, one of which, commanded by the Serasker, went to Negropont, while the other lay at Thebes under the Pasha of Adrianople. Notwithstanding the devastation of the southern parts of Eubœa, the insurgents, headed by the Olympian Diamantis, still stood their ground in the northern district, until overpowered by the fresh forces which Yussuf Pasha led against them; he defeated Diamantis in two actions, on the 2d and 6th of August, and pursued the fugitives into the mountains. The carnage was not considerable, but this reverse of fortune completed the desolation of the island, since most of its Christian inhabitants emigrated to Skyros, Skiathos, and Skopelos, and the Turks burned their dwellings; so that 150 Eubœan villages disappeared during this summer. Odysseus passed into the isle with 1000 men,

effected nothing, and soon after recrossed the narrow sea that separates it from Locris: it was even alleged that his presence there did harm, for Diamantis, dreading his enmity, and suspicious of his intentions, abandoned Eubœa altogether, and erelong made his peace with the Mohammedans, and went back to his Armatolik in Macedonia.

As these events compromised the safety of Attica, the Hydriotes, in compliance with an urgent application from the Athenians, sent ten vessels, and a flotilla of armed launches, to operate a diversion by attacking Carysto: they landed unopposed near that place, but were beaten by its garrison, and driven away with disgrace.

In the absence of Odysseus, Athens was ruled by Ghouras, a rough, ignorant soldier, whose brutal and arbitrary behaviour gave much dissatisfaction. Availing himself of a brawl between his mercenaries and the citizens, he, on the evening of June the 26th, caused Captain Sari, a man respected by the Athenians, to be dragged up to the citadel, and inhumanly butchered. Ghouras marched in person towards the confines of Attica, (July the 12th,) leaving 100 men in the Acropolis, under his cousin Maimouri; having examined the defiles, and stationed a party to prevent any surprise, he returned on the 19th, and in concert with the Ephors, issued an order of the day, warning the villagers that the enemy might perhaps pay them a visit, and therefore desiring them to unroof their houses, and hide the old men, women, and children in the mountains.

A thousand Athenian volunteers embodied themselves for the defence of the town, on condition that, if hard pressed, Ghouras should admit them into the citadel, which, through the care of Odysseus, was fully provisioned for two years.

In the first week of August, the president, Petro Bey, Sotiri Karalambi, and Count Metaxa, arrived at Salamis, and took up their residence in the convent of Phaneromeni: they had with them near 1000 Moreote troops, and were joined somewhat later by the legislative body. Their professed object was to push the campaign in Roumelia, for which purpose Nikitas (as we have seen above) had passed the Isthmus, and encamped at the strong position of Kazà in Megaris. Wishing to make a parade of their zeal, the Peloponnesians pretended that the forces they contributed at this juncture amounted to 3000, or even 5000 men: however, they hardly fired a shot, and most of them, getting neither pay nor rations, deserted before a month elapsed.

Sotiri was a genuine Kojabashee, and one of the worst of his class; Metaxa, a vile intriguer; and Petro Bey, who had always the word "patriotism" in his mouth, busily gratified his cupidity at the expense of his country. At this period he launched out into habitual invectives against both Ypsilanti and Mavrocordato, accusing them of ambition and presumption; neither did he spare in his discourse Odysseus and Ghouras. The three members of the Executive felt a strong inclination to possess themselves of the Acropolis, and it was not difficult for them to gain a party among the Athenians, disgusted at the tyranny of their governor. A spirit of insubordination began to prevail both in town and country, but Ghouras, who was not a man to be easily daunted, quickly suppressed it by vigorous measures. He arrested (August 26th) the Ephors, and fifteen notable citizens, obliged five captains* to fly to Salamis, and plundered their houses.

* The two brothers Leckas, Symeon Zacharizza, Meleti, and Davari.

Nor did he stop here; a detachment of 200 of his soldiers being ordered to chastise the peasants of the canton of Mesoghaia, killed two, brought in eight prisoners, scattered the others, and destroyed their property. A sudden alarm that the Turks were approaching calmed these dissensions, and restored unanimity. In fact the Serasker Yussuf, and Omer Pasha of Negropont,* marching out of that city, occupied (September the 6th) Oropos and Kalamos, and next day their vanguard of 500 cavalry, advancing to within two miles of the walls of Athens, surprised about forty persons working in the fields and gardens. The castle fired four guns as a signal to the country people, and Ghouras, sallying forth with a few horsemen, repulsed the enemy's skirmishers; in the afternoon the Turks fell back upon their main body, posted at Kephissia.

For two or three subsequent days, they repeated the same manœuvre, showing themselves in the morning, and retiring at night; on the 9th, they made an excursion into the olive grove, and killed twelve Greeks, whom Captain Leckas avenged by cutting off some of their stragglers on the 10th; Ghouras, in the meantime preparing to stand a siege, carried up to the castle whatever provision the town contained; the latter was guarded by 1000 men (including 800 Athenians, and a detachment that came from Salamis, on the evening of the 8th, under a son of Petro Bey), while 400 mercenaries of Odysseus and Ghouras garrisoned the Acropolis. It nevertheless appeared, that the Ottomans never dreamed of so tedious an operation as the siege of Athens, their exploits being confined to the slaughter of a small number of peasants, enslaving 300 women, gathering ripe grapes, and taking a certain quantity

* Formerly Bey of Carysto, and now promoted to the Pashalik of Eubœa.

of maize, and must, or new wine. They returned to Kalamos on the 13th, and shortly afterwards their army disbanded, the soldiers going off to Zeituni and Negropont, in bands of an hundred at a time. A virulent dysentery, or, according to other accounts, the plague, brought by the Constantinople fleet, made great havoc amongst them; Yussuf himself was sick, and both he and Omer Pasha retrograded to Zeituni, where they were rejoined by Salik Vizier of Adrianople, who gradually abandoned his positions in Bœotia.

Displeased with the dilatory conduct of its Serasker, the Porte superseded him, and named to the command of its forces in Thessaly, and the charge of Roumeli Valesi, Aboulaboud Pasha of Salonika. That tiger set out from the capital of Macedonia, August the 27th, to the joy of its inhabitants, and the utter dismay of the Thessalians, which was too well-founded, for he signalized his entry into Larissa by his usual cruelties, beheading several Turks of distinction, for reasons only known to himself; and so much terror did his presence excite, that many rich individuals, Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan, fled from the city. In October, Aboulaboud collected round Zeituni an army represented to the Porte as amounting to 15,000 men; but he never crossed Oeta, neither did he long retain the office of Roumeli Valesi.

Attica being freed from the enemy, the Athenian families re-established themselves in their native town, and Salamis disgorged a crowd of Roumeliote fugitives, that had spent the summer under olive-trees, for whose shade the proprietors exacted a small rent. The situation of that barren isle pointed it out in every campaign as an asylum for the population of the mainland, and it was now become both the seat of government and the general head-quarters, all the captains of Eastern Hellas having assembled there (October the

4th), to consult with the Executive. Odysseus came with the rest, followed by no more than thirty men, for his soldiers had left his banner, because he could not pay them. In his conferences with Petro Bey, and his colleagues, Odysseus affected the utmost humility, protesting that he and Ghouras considered the Acropolis as belonging to the state, that they had taken charge of it on account of the discord reigning at Athens, and were ready to resign it, with a proviso that no Moreote should be appointed commandant. He craved, likewise, a special commission to conquer Negropont, and, after a little hesitation, it was granted to him in conjunction with the Psarrians. The Executive had been for a long time living on the worst terms with the Legislative body; the former, tired of residing at Salamis, and influenced by Colocotroni, determined to shut itself up for the winter in Napoli di Romania; but the senators objected to trusting their persons and authority within a fortress, where they would be at the mercy of a military dictator. On the 7th of October, the Beys of Maina, Sotiri, and Metaxa, departed from Koulyouri, * on their return to Peloponnesus, and the Senate reluctantly took the same direction fifteen days later. At the moment of bidding adieu to the Athenians, the Executive imposed on them a contribution of 30,000 piastres, and as much on the people of Livadia and Salona, to make up a sum of 100,000 piastres, intended to hire a Hydriote squadron for the relief of Messalonghi, which was threatened with a blockade both by sea and land. Odysseus subscribed 4000 piastres, and Petro Bey was not ashamed to offer a like

* Modern Salamis contains two villages, Koulyouri on the western, and Ambelaki on the eastern side, near the ruins of the old city; each has a fine haven, and the former appellation, derived from a sort of twisted bun, is used to designate the isle.

donation, although he and his brothers were actually pocketing the revenues of Elis and Messenia.

In November, the apparition of the Ottoman fleet in the Gulf of Volo, a report that Aboulaboud was at Zeituni, and the precipitate flight of 700 soldiers from Talanta and Talantonisi, occasioned new alarms, and all the troops of Eastern Greece, to the number of 3000, rendezvoused at Athens. As soon as it was ascertained that the enemy did not at present contemplate an advance upon that city, Odysseus resumed his favourite project of emancipating Eubœa; he had engaged the natives of the island to elect him for their general, and secured the co-operation of the Psarrians, who proposed, after the expulsion of the Turks, to settle at Negropont. Coletti (ex-minister of war), who was very popular in Roumelia, having consented to act as his coadjutor, came to Athens, November the 6th, at the head of 500 men, and leaving them there, proceeded to Zea and Psarra, to expedite the requisite preparations. Odysseus himself moved on the 19th, with a corps of 1000 soldiers, mostly Thessalian exiles, while twenty armed boats sailed from Piræus, to meet him at Port Rafti. In order to provide funds for his winter campaign, he laid on the Athenians a fresh imposition of five piastres per man, which in their state of poverty obliged many to pledge their effects. On the 24th and 26th, a party of Albanians, and 200 Athenians, marched to reinforce him; and from Nauplia, a ship was sent to his aid, with eight pieces of cannon, one mortar, 150 bombs, sixty kantars of lead, and some ammunition. At Port Rafti, he found Coletti, and six Psarriote vessels of war, having troops on board: they together went to Zea, and sailing from thence with the squadron, and about 3000 land forces, disembarked at Olivari, betwixt Negropont and Carysto, where they were farther strengthened by 600

Eubœan insurgents, under Griziotti, who had maintained himself in the hills. Having stationed a division of his army in the gardens and suburb of Carysto, Odysseus occupied a narrow road along the shore, and, on the 5th of December, repulsed a column of 700 Turks from Negropont. Informed that his province was invaded, Omer Pasha hastened back from the camp at Zeituni, and assembling 1500 men, attacked the Greeks on the 7th; but being warmly received, and exposed in flank to a fire of grape-shot from the Psarrian vessels, was forced to retire. Odysseus completed the blockade of Carysto, and wrote to Athens for miners, twenty of whom were accordingly despatched to him on the 11th.* He then advanced his head-quarters to Vrisala, three leagues from Negropont, and directed Stathi Kazzikoyani, one of his captains, to seize the defile of Anaforti, in front of Karababa, and commanding the road from thence to Thebes.

SECTION II.

In respect of manly courage, and real Hellenic blood and character, Western Greece justly claims a superiority over the kindred provinces, the nature of the country, and the valour of its people, having in a great measure preserved her verdant and shady valleys from foreign intrusion. Neither the Crusaders, nor Venetians, any more than the Krals of Bulgaria and Servia,

* The service of miners was performed in Greece by a class of men termed Sourgoljees, whose profession it is to lay pipes, and fashion channels for conducting water; they live apart, in certain villages of Epirus, the Morea, &c.; and although totally uneducated, yet, being bred to the same trade for successive generations, show a good deal of intelligence and dexterity.

made permanent settlements there; the Albanians have left few traces of their passage and dominion; and the Turks, from the period of their early Sultans, rather sought to avert the troublesome hostility of the mountaineers than to bring them under the yoke. Instead of drawing tribute from thence, the neighbouring Pashas sometimes expended money in purchasing truces; and although the Porte held some towns on the coast, yet it intrusted the internal administration to captains of the native Greek militia.

Ali Pasha, engaged during his whole life in wars and negotiations with the Klefts and Armatoles, cut off great numbers of them, attracted many of their bravest warriors into his own service, erected forts on the shore of the Ambracian Gulf, and the Dyorictus, and placed Illyrian colonies in the plain of Thermus; still, however, his tyranny was firmly withstood, and as fast as his arms or policy broke up one band of adventurers, another arose equally formidable, recruited from the relations of those whom he had slain.

The eleven districts* of Etolia and Acarnania, contained perhaps 70,000 Christians, speaking uniformly the Romaic tongue, and produced a race of men handsome and active, full of fire and spirit, exercised from childhood in running and shooting at a mark, and confident in their strength and skill; while the Ottoman garrisons and burghers of the towns were not, before the revolution, reckoned at above 5000. With regard to territorial possessions, the whole land in Agrafa and Kravari, and nearly the whole of Acarnania, belonged to Greek proprietors; and every where else, except around Messalonghi and Vrakhori, the propor-

* In Etolia, Venetiko, Apokouro, Karpenisi, Agrafa, Kravari, Vlokhos, and Zygos; in Acarnania, Xeromeros, Valtos, Aspropotamos, (or Parachelois,) and Vonizza; the Greeks now pretend that the Christian population amounted to 86,000, which seems incredible.

tion of estates appertaining to Mussulmans was extremely small. Agrafa, a lofty, but a pleasant and fruitful country, was the most flourishing canton, since it counted a population of 30,000 souls; it had, moreover, been at all times the very citadel of the Klefts. Notwithstanding this, it did not make a conspicuous figure in the actual struggle, owing to the jealousy of three parties, which balanced each other, and prevented an union against the Turks: however, at the commencement of this year, the Agrafiotes acted with some degree of vigour, and they and the Aspropotamites, under the Captains Stournaris and Karaiskaki, pushing their incursions into Thessaly, as far as the gates of Trikkala, obliged the governor of that province to conclude an armistice with them.

Yussuf Pasha, who courted his master's favour by an ostentation of zeal, having undertaken to raise an Albanian army, and support it at his own cost, collected in May 6000 of those barbarous mercenaries at Vonizza, and was preparing to lead them into Western Greece, when his plan was overthrown by the intrigues of Omer Vriones. The latter, living in retirement at Prevesa, and unable to bear the thought of seeing his rival succeed in an enterprise in which he had himself so totally failed, employed his influence with his countrymen to stir them up to sedition, and even (it is said) imparted his design to Mark Bozzaris, and obtained a promise that the passes should be open to deserters. Towards the end of the month, the Albanians suddenly mutinied, rushed into the Pasha's tent, and by threatening his life, exacted three months pay in advance, after which they dispersed, and took the way to their mountains, traversing Makrynoros without molestation from the Greeks. Vexed and humiliated, Yussuf returned to Prevesa, with no other suite than the officers of his household; in one thing he was lucky, inasmuch

as the bulk of his treasure, deposited in sacks under the sofa he sat upon, escaped the observation of the mutineers.

This event deferred, but did not avert, the invasion of Western Greece; Omer Vriones gradually reassembled most of the troops that had deserted Yussuf, and in July the Vizier of Scodra approached the confines with a numerous army. The Pashalik of Scodra, (or Scutari,) renowned for the stubborn courage and savage fierceness of its half Albanian, half Sclavonian tribes, borders on Dalmatia and the Herzegovina, and hath seldom been more than nominally subject to the Porte. Since the summer of 1821, Moustai Pasha had repeatedly published his intention of marching against the Greeks, but as it was not his interest to strengthen the hands of the Sultan, he found pretexts to put off the expedition, until now at length he descended from the banks of the Lake Labeatis, followed by the Mohammedan Ghegs, and the Catholic Mirdites dwelling about Croya, Antivari, and Alessio, on the coast of the Adriatic. With a double purpose of avoiding Makrynoros, and crushing all opposition in the chain of Pindus, he moved by Trikkala, and the valley of the Achelous; Agrafa submitted to him, and he carried fire and sword through the canton of Aspropotamos, driving Stournaris out of it. At the same time, Omer Vriones advanced on the side of Arta and Combotti, and the grand Ottoman fleet stretching along the shore from Kandili to Naupactus, landed men on several points, and burned the villages of Galata and Neokhori; it could not, however, prevent the new Eparch of Messalonghi, Constantine Metaxa, from running into that place with seven Greek barks. To rebut the impending danger, and make head against such a cloud of enemies, Western Hellas had only a small band of soldiers, and the mud ramparts of Messalonghi, where the people's minds

were so cowed by fear, on learning that the captains of Agrafa and Aspropotamos had turned their backs, that it was generally thought they would surrender without a blow; and the case might have been so, if the young and brave Mark Bozzaris had not been inspired with a greatness of soul and a depth of feeling rarely to be met with in the history of the world, and nobly seconded by the daring intrepidity of the Souliote battalion, in whose hearts traditions of victory, and a long series of glorious achievements, had wound up sentiments of military honour to a very high pitch.

Marching with these gallant troops on the 11th of August, Bozzaris arrived at Souvalakos, and encountered there Karaiskaki flying with a handful of men from Agrafa, and so much indisposed in health, that he was obliged to betake himself to the monastery of Broussos. Falling in too with Pesli, the brothers Yoldash, and other chiefs, who, having been worked upon by Turkish emissaries, were almost inclined to let the enemy pass, the Souliotes infused confidence into their wavering bosoms. Uniting to the number of 1200, they then moved to the smaller village of Karpenisi, and encamped at a distance of two hours' march from the Pasha of Scodra's vanguard, which, under the orders of his nephew Jeladin Bey, was posted in the meadows and vineyards of Great Karpenisi. According to reports then current at Messalonghi, and little likely to fall short of the truth, this hostile corps amounted to 4500 men, although rumour afterwards magnified it to 8000; it consisted of Mirdites, so that unfortunately the ensuing battle was one fought between Christians. In a council of war held on the 20th, Mark Bozzaris pointed out the impossibility of keeping the foe in check by demonstrations, or of spinning out the campaign, because they were in want of provisions and ammunition, and he therefore insisted on the necessity of hazarding

without delay a desperate attack; his generous proposition was approved, and the execution fixed for the following night. Their troops being divided into three columns, Bozzaris undertook to lead the centre; George Kizzos, the two Tzavellas (uncle and nephew), the captains of Karpenisi, and the Khiliarch Yakis, headed one wing; the other, formed of the soldiers of Agrafa and Souvalakos, was intrusted to the command of a Souliote named Fotos; the onset was to commence at five hours after sunset, and their watchword to be Stornari (or flint). Having waited a quarter of an hour beyond the appointed time, to allow the wings to come up, and perceiving no signs of them, Mark with 350 men entered Jeladin Bey's camp, and finding the Scodrians asleep, made a terrible slaughter of them. If all the Greeks had behaved like the Souliotes, the result would have been a complete victory: but it is said that George Kizzos never appeared in the field; that those of Agrafa and Souvalakos refused to follow Fotos; and that, although he, as well as the two Tzavellas and Yakis, took an active share in the engagement, few soldiers accompanied them. Nevertheless, the Souliotes, using their swords, after the first discharge of fire-arms, drove the Mirdites from all their tambourias except one within an enclosure, which Bozzaris assaulted in vain. Wounded by a shot in the loins, he concealed that accident, and continued to fight, until a ball striking him in the face, he fell, and instantly expired. The action lasted for an hour and a half longer, but their leader's death becoming known, and day beginning to dawn, the Souliotes retreated to their original position at Mikrokhori, carrying off with them their general's body (borne on the shoulders of his cousin Athanasius Touzis), 690 muskets, 1000 pistols, a great number of horses, mules, and sheep, and other spoils taken from the foe. It is not in our power to give an accurate

statement of the loss on each side; the soldiers of Mark's division rated theirs at thirteen killed (exclusive of the general), and twenty-seven severely wounded, who were brought into Messalonghi; but posterior, and probably more authentic accounts, reckon their casualties at upwards of 100. The carnage among the Scodrians was doubtless considerable, since they were busied during the whole day of the 21st, in collecting and burying their dead, amounting, as the Greeks assert, to 800;* little crosses set up at the heads of their graves, still show what faith the slain professed.

On the 22d the remains of Mark Bozzaris were transported to Messalonghi, and interred there with all the honours he deserved, and all the pomp that the melancholy circumstances of the town could afford. His brother Costa (or Constantine), chosen by the voluntary suffrage of his comrades to command their corps, was quite unable to arrest the progress of the enemy's masses, which came pouring upon him: he was surprised, outflanked, and beaten (September the 7th) at Kalliakouda, in an affair which cost the lives of 200 of his soldiers, including some of the best blood of Souli, and, among others, proved fatal to the brave Tzigouri Tzavella, uncle to Kizzo; he then fell back upon the lagoons, and the Etolian captains, to whose negligence this reverse was attributed, fled into the hills and forests.

* A study of the revolution we are describing may well make us cautious in believing implicitly the narrations of the Persian wars transmitted by the ancients, who, like the modern Greeks, were incapable of just views on matters connected with their country's glory. The loss of the Souliotes at Karpenisi dwindled by degrees in popular report to six men killed, while that of the Ottomans rose to 1200. Monsieur Pouqueville boldly states the latter at 1500 left dead on the field, and Souzzo, yet fonder of amplification, at 7000. It is remarkable that in this celebrated fight very few real Turks or Greeks were engaged, the combatants of both parties being Albanians, a race meriting the character Livy gives the Ligurians—*Durum ad arma genus!*

Mustai Pasha having led up his main body to support the vanguard, and seeing no force of the insurgents before him, should have pressed forwards to Messalonghi; but, instead of doing so, he entangled himself among the difficult mountains of Kravari, whence he was glad to extricate his troops, after a succession of useless skirmishes.

Meanwhile Omer Vriones reached Vrakhori, and the two armies forming a junction, and counting in their ranks at least 15,000 combatants, approached Messalonghi in the second week of October. As the result of last year's campaign had impressed on the Turks an extravagant idea of its strength, and as it had now a sufficient garrison, they did not attack it, resolving rather to attempt Anatoliko, a small town built on a low islet, at the head of the lagoons, about seven miles to the north-west of the former; hoping by its reduction to be masters of the shallow waters. The Capitan Pasha was no longer in the gulf, but he had left three stout frigates and twelve corvettes and brigs with Yussuf Pasha, who blockaded Messalonghi by sea, and sent over heavy artillery to the besieging army. From its situation in the midst of water and soft mud, Anatoliko is inaccessible otherwise than by flat-bottomed boats: there were in it some old iron cannon, 500 armed men, and thrice as many useless mouths, women, and children. A Greek engineer named Michael Kokini superintended the defence, and was assisted in managing the guns by one Martin an English artilleryman, who did good service. What the people had most cause to apprehend was thirst, the cisterns being spoiled, and no fountain existing in the islet, which had hitherto been supplied with fresh water brought from the mainland in canoes called Monoxyla: of this the Turks were aware, and therefore expected to force it quickly to surrender. They began the siege on the 19th of October,

and, having constructed batteries of cannon and howitzers, bombarded the place; when, at the very outset, a shell falling on the church of St Michael, broke through the pavement, and discovering a spring of water, allayed the urgent distress of the inhabitants already reduced to drink out of the lagoon, and filled them with enthusiasm, as they beheld in this incident a proof of the miraculous interposition of Heaven. Thus elated, they briskly returned the enemy's fire, and the whole population worked incessantly at repairing their fragile ramparts and batteries. Operations going on in this manner for upwards of a month, the Turks threw 2000 six-inch shells without other effect than overturning a number of huts, and killing somewhat less than a score of individuals. The season was too far advanced, and winter setting in with rain and storm flooded their camp, and sowed the seeds of epidemic sickness; while they were constantly harassed by parties of insurgents, who alarmed their posts, and hung on their communications. On the 4th of November their cannonade slackened, and the same day the garrison of Messalonghi making a sortie, defeated a detachment of cavalry, and intercepted a convoy of provisions coming from Hypokhori. On the 10th, three pieces of cannon, despatched from Leghorn by the Metropolitan Ignatius, arrived at Anatoliko, and on the 12th, a Mainatt mistik, belonging to Petro Bey, brought thither from Klarenza a cargo of corn and lead, in spite of the Turkish naval blockade. The Pashas then sent in a flag of truce offering a capitulation, which the besieged at once rejected. Seeing that without venturing an assault, they would never be able to carry the place, they laboured at preparing rafts, and on the 21st renewed the bombardment with great fury; but on the 24th it again became slack. The mortality increased, fodder and ammunition failed them, and the enterprise appearing hopeless, they buried or re-em-

barked their battering train,* burned their boats, destroyed the olive groves, raised the siege, and on the 30th marched away towards Epirus, abandoning to the Greeks a quantity of grain and projectiles. Mustai Pasha returned to his residence of Scodra, and no persuasions of the Porte could prevail upon him once more to try his fortune against the rebels, although he left a letter promising them a second visit in the month of May. Such was the issue of the most important expedition which the Turks undertook during this year.

While the fate of Messalonghi hung in suspense, the Greek nation was deeply anxious, and upbraided the Executive for neglecting the bulwark of Hellas; the legislative body held the same language, and the principal persons shut up in the place, wrote by every opportunity vehement letters, demanding two things: a naval force, and the presence of Mavrocordato, whom they considered in the light of a friend and benefactor. They protested that if these requests were not granted them, and if they were not speedily succoured, they would accept an honourable capitulation, rather than endure the extremities of famine to which they must soon be exposed, as the town was crowded with refugees, and their supplies were solely derived from Zantiote boats that now and then eluded the vigilance of Yussuf Pasha's cruisers. Under pretence of hiring a squadron for the relief of Western Greece, the government had extorted money from the people of Attica, but all went to wreck through the cupidity of four sordid rulers, their enmity to Mavrocordato, and misunderstanding with the Hydriote primates.

* They are reported to have employed a curious stratagem for saving the guns which they concealed under ground, by imitating tombs, and erecting such grave-stones as the Turks use; the Greeks being deceived, left the ordnance untouched, and Reshid Pasha dug it up in 1825.

Nothing was done until Lord Byron entered into a correspondence with Mavrocordato on the subject, and sent from Cefalonia two of his friends (Messrs Hamilton Brown and Trelawney) to press the islanders to exertion. Then, indeed, a knowledge of his wealth and liberality, and the generous offer of L.4000, overcame all difficulties: a fleet was equipped, and the richer citizens contributed money to accelerate its armament; but their gifts were not on a large scale, Condouriotti subscribing only 2000 piastres. The Spezziotes were first ready, and their contingent of five good and well-manned vessels, with one fire-ship, tired of waiting for their allies of Hydra, sailed for Messalonghi in the last week of November; Mavrocordato followed, on the 30th, in Condouriotti's corvette, and seven Hydriote brigs and two fire-ships put to sea on the 1st of December. Fourteen sail of Greeks passed Zante on the 9th, and next day met with a Turkish brig-of-war, proceeding from Prevesa to Patrass, and having on board specie for paying the troops of Yussuf Pasha to the value of 500,000 piastres. For several hours the Ottoman captain stood a running fight with the whole of the enemy's vessels, but the wind hindering him from getting into the gulf, and his brig being in a sinking state, he ran her on a rock near the coast of Ithaca, when his crew reached the shore. The islanders manned their boats to take possession of the prize, but the Mussulmans, firing upon them from the beach, killed one Spezziote and wounded another. Incensed at this, the sailors, disregarding their officers' remonstrances, landed on the Ionian territory, pursued the Turks, and cut to pieces as many as they could overtake, until the appearance of the English resident with a party of soldiers compelled them to desist, and they resumed their course, carrying with them the specie found in the brig.

Notwithstanding its superior strength in men and guns, and the positive orders of Yussuf Pasha, the Turkish squadron in the gulf would not engage the Greeks, but on their approach retired within the castles of the Little Dardanelles, leaving Messalonghi open. Mavrocordato was received there with transports of joy; he had embarked as a simple volunteer, the Executive having refused to give him any commission; however, as soon as he arrived, the authorities of Western Greece immediately put him at the head of their provincial government. To temper his satisfaction at this mark of esteem, the bad conduct of the fleet caused him poignant grief: the money captured off Ithaca proved an apple of discord to the Hydriotes and Spezziotes, and had they been more equally matched, a battle would have been the consequence. They cleared for action on both sides, and Mavrocordato in vain endeavoured to pacify their dispute, which was concluded by the Hydriotes sailing away with the cash, an example of abrupt departure that the Spezziotes imitated shortly aftewrards.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK III.—CHAP. II.

No. I.—*Proclamation of* ODYSSEUS, *dated Athens, June* $\frac{10}{22}$, 1823.

To the Athenians inhabiting the city and villages, and to the other Greeks, health! From the time when we began to uphold the Christian faith, and the liberty of Greece, it is well known to you how much we have suffered, we and our families, and that our goods, present and future, are at this moment in the enemy's hands. The Turks, who are suddenly entered into several provinces of Greece, daily make slaves of our Christian brethren, sell them like beasts, kill them, and weaken our nation. Setting aside the calamities inflicted by the enemy, those of us who wander about from place to place, endeavouring to save the remains of their families, have no slight sufferings to endure. Ye! Oh Athenians! are not ignorant of these things; behold the foe is approaching, and from every quarter our brethren write and call upon us for aid and succour. Is it possible that any man in whose veins flows a drop of Grecian blood, can hear their cries with indifference? that any who believe in Jesus Christ and the cross, can stay at home and attend to their own interest? Countrymen! we are fighting for all the most precious advantages in the world; our faith, the freedom of our country, and for Greece. The first is holy, and God is with us; the second is our inheritance, and the inalienable right, not of the Greeks alone, but of every enlightened nation. Notwithstanding the misfortunes that have weighed us down for so many centuries, we have not lost all trace of our ancient civilisation, which at present assists our cause. Liberty is the daughter of good laws, and to obtain these we must drive away the tyrant. Let every one who feels the truth of such sentiments follow me, ere all be lost. I go to thwart the enemy's designs, therefore let all who have truly Grecian minds follow me; they shall find their recompense in the holy gospel. If you think to escape by skulking from place to place, you deceive yourselves: when the foe hath vanquished those who combat, he will easily disco-

ver those who lie hid. The more we fly the more he pursues, and our only hope is in union, and a resolution to live victorious or die fighting.

(Signed) The Patriot Odysseus Androuzzos.

No. II.—*Letter from Odysseus to Drossos, Eparch of Athens. Dated from the Convent of Jerusalem, July* $\frac{7}{19}$, 1823.

Friend Drossos—Health!

To-day we have gained a glorious victory, which really does honour to the brave Hellenes. A division of the enemy was encamped near Chæronea, on the banks of the Mavroneri, and we perceiving how carelessly they roamed about, and inspired by enthusiasm, fell upon them with impetuosity: a serious battle was fought during the night, in which, besides many dead and wounded that remained in our power, we took camels, horses, and mules, to the number of perhaps a hundred, as well as a part of their provisions. In fine, we entirely dispersed this hostile corps, and know not whether it has yet been able to rally itself to any other. Do every thing you can, and use every solicitation to induce the Peloponnesians to march out with their forces, and join us here, especially now that we have discovered the method of beating the enemy.

Store the castle properly, according to the tenor of my former letter.

(Signed) Odysseus Androuzzos.

No. III.—*Letter of two Viziers, the Serasker Yussuf and Salik Pasha of Adrianople, dated from the camp at Livadia.*

$\frac{July\ 20th,}{August\ 1st,}$ 1823.

To our friend Captain Odysseus—Health!

We have received your letter, and say to you in reply, that good was the discourse you held with our brother the Roumeli Valesi, but empty words alone, and that affairs of this nature require deeds, not words. The duty of a well-affected Rayah consists in the following points:—the payment of the Kharatch (capitation tax) owing for three years, and the other dues appertaining to the Sovereign, as well as punctuality in acquitting these charges for the future; the surrender of every sort of weapon and ammunition of war, and zealous obedience in all government matters. These are what you promised a year ago to the Roumeli Valesi, but as yet you have not executed the least

point. These things we say unto you, in order that, if, like us, you be acting for the people's tranquillity, and have compassion upon the poor, you may come hither and confer with us, when, by God's blessing, we will establish general quiet: we will then depart with our army, and all shall return to its pristine state. Should it be otherwise, you can go back in perfect security. When you shall show good-will towards the government, we will acknowledge you for our particular friend, and both by the invincible Sultan, and by us, you shall be gifted with extraordinary advantages and privileges. Health!

P.S.—Until these affairs be arranged, and we make peace, the troops will not depart from hence. A Bimbashee is appointed to provide for your safety in coming here, and you can bring Yusuf Bey* with you.

No. IV.—*Decree of the Greek Government to honour the memory of* MARK BOZZARIS.

Provisional Government of Greece.—The President of the Executive Body decrees.

BLESSED shade of the immortal General Mark Bozzaris! Mayest thou hover over all the Hellenic assemblies, beholding the joy painted in our looks, and hearing the benedictions poured on thy illustrious name, which acts upon us like a talisman; may thy memory be eternal! Beloved Greeks! Lo! another Leonidas figures in your history! The first of the name with 300 companions faced the universe, and, resolving to die in obedience to the laws of Sparta, fell in the night upon myriads of foes. Our modern one, in concert with General Karaiskaki,† and 800 brave soldiers, having patriotism for their law, and being determined to conquer, charged sword in hand, and vanquished 10,000 men. Eight hundred Turks, and among others Pliassa Pasha,‡ lay dead, and Jeladin Bey was wounded; few of our heroes fell a sacrifice for their faith and country. In this glorious battle died the immortal General Bozzaris, and went to the regions of eternity to darken by the rays of his exploits the lustre of former heroes. The good Souliotes have elected for their chief his brother Constantine, and were preparing again to attack the foe. Such are the news the government has just received from Western Greece. Beloved Hellenes! behold how Heaven assists us against the enemy of Christianity! how a handful of patriots destroyed his innumerable

* An Albanian Bey, prisoner to Odysseus.

† Karaiskaki was not at the battle of Karpenizza.

‡ When the Greeks wished to kill a Pasha in their bulletins, they generally chose Ismael Pliassa, who, for aught we know to the contrary, still lives.

army, how the cross and patriotism triumph! God demands from you patriotism alone, and will never abandon you fighting for his cause.

Shake off then lethargy, arm yourselves, and hasten to the field of Mars to gather crowns of laurel as the reward of your valour. To arms, Greeks! To battle, Christians! Imitate Bozzaris and his companions! Let us fight, and we are sure to return victorious.

(Signed) The President PETROS MAVROMIKHALIS.

Dated Salamis, August $\frac{19}{31}$, 1823.

CHAP. III.

Campaign of 1823 in the Island of Crete.

FROM the autumn of 1822 to the spring of the next year, there did not happen in Crete any incident sufficiently striking to vary the uniform picture of misery, that to a greater or less degree involved both the contending parties. However, the evils of the Christians were lighter, since amidst their feuds, their poverty, the oppression of the Sfakiotes, and the inroads of the Turks, they enjoyed a free space, and the pure air of the mountains; while their enemies, pent up in forts indifferently supplied with the necessaries of life, were wasted by the double scourge of pestilence and dysentery. If we may trust a calculation made at the end of March 1823, the plague had already carried off 5000 persons in Canea alone. The insurgents lurked about the walls of the cities, massacred any isolated individuals that ventured out, and even destroyed all the mills around Candia; and along the coast the Kassiote cruisers gave no respite to the Moslems. Hassan, the Egyptian general, and the other three Pashas, spent the winter in the eastern parts of the isle, labouring to keep open the communication betwixt Candia and Rhetymo, and to surprise by sudden incursions the revolted villages, whose inhabitants generally eluded their attempts by a speedy flight: at the same period the Greeks straitened the blockade of Canea, and a rebellion broke out in the hitherto submissive district of Kissamos, where, in February, the native Mohammedans crowded into the castle.

Meanwhile, Affendouli, who had long struggled against a faction, was fairly beaten out of the field by his antagonists; the majority of Cretans was well affected towards him, but his exertions to put a stop to habits of brigandage had alienated the greedy and intractable Sfakiotes. Hoping to mollify their adverse disposition, he went to Sfakia and endeavoured to form a party there, but failed entirely, being opposed by the intrigues of one Kalamaras, a Cretan by birth, and formerly an officer in the naval service of Russia, whence he had been expelled for some misconduct. Through Sfakiote influence, an address from the island was presented to the Congress of Astros, accusing Affendouli, and praying for his removal; whereupon the latter, seeing that he had no effectual support, abdicated his authority and sailed to Malta. He appears to have been a man of a weak, gloomy, and suspicious character; but, in justice to him, we must add, that the peasants still regret his administration, and that the governors who came after him, with far greater means, succeeded worse than he had done. When Affendouli withdrew from the scene, where he played a part for eighteen months, the Cretans immediately began to look about for a proper person to fill his place, and they determined to choose a Hydriote, in order to obtain the aid of the Greek fleet, to them a most important consideration. They applied, therefore, to Emanuel Tombazi, a man of activity, sense, and courage, who, if he had resisted the temptation of lucre, and selected better counsellors, might have been one of the brightest ornaments of the Revolution.

As soon as the offer was known at Hydra, it excited a ferment among the partisans of Condouriotti, who disguised their jealousy under the pretence that Tombazi could not be spared. This objection he overruled by persuading the sailors that his nomination to the

government of Crete would be advantageous to the commercial interests of Hydra. The new Executive readily confirmed his appointment, and granted him the Lacedemonian title of Harmost.

That he might arrive in the island at the head of a respectable force, the wealthiest Cretans subscribed money for the purpose of levying troops and procuring warlike stores; Tombazi himself furnished a large sum, though on very hard terms, for he stipulated that the Candiote deputies attending the Congress should recognise the debt as a public one, that he should receive a heavy interest, and be enabled to repay himself the capital, by holding a monopoly of the oil crop. After the settling of these preliminaries, the next thing to be done was the raising troops, which at first went on slowly, because Colocotroni, apprehensive of a design to wrest Nauplia from him, would not allow any recruiting in that town, the resort of all idle soldiery in Greece. Indeed Tombazi did not seem anxious to enter on his command, until he saw what turn politics were likely to take subsequently to the conclusion of the assembly of Astros. He then made preparations in earnest, hired shipping, and getting permission from Colocotroni to set up bayraks in Napoli, enrolled about 1200 men, including Roumeliotes, Moreotes, a corps of Bulgarians, attracted to Greece by love of adventure and hatred to the Turks, and a company of Kranidiotes destined to serve the artillery, which last department of the expedition was confided to the direction of Captain Hastings.

On the 29th of May the troops embarked on board a squadron composed of Tombazi's schooner, one Hydriote, and one Ionian brig, a galliot, and four mistiks,*

* Mistiks (a sort of rig admirably adapted for piracy) are long and sharp boats drawing little water, with two large latine sails, and a

and sailed the same evening, but being forced to lie to off Monemvasia to procure water, did not reach the Bay of Kissamos till the afternoon of the 3d of June. The Turks invested in the town and castle, perceiving the vessels, supposed they were friends come to their relief, and sallied out upon the Greeks, who, falling into a similar mistake, retreated, until the flags became visible, when they faced about, and by a vigorous charge drove their enemies within the place. Tombazi displayed in his measures a celerity very unusual in Grecian warfare; at the instant of his arrival, he landed the soldiers (an operation effected in half-an-hour), and in another hour and a half, his artillery, consisting of fourteen guns (four and twelve-pounders),* and a forty-eight-pound carronade from the schooner, was on shore, and, before night closed in, partly established in battery. He also reconnoitred the fort, followed by all his own troops, and about as many Cretans, and stood with much coolness the fire of the Turkish cannon, which, although extremely defective, could not fail to do execution amongst so dense a mass. Resolving to turn to account the impression made upon the Mussulmans by his appearance and exaggerated ideas of his force, he sent in a letter, inviting them to capitulate on good terms, and threatening, in case of a refusal, to storm and put them all to the sword.

As the plague was causing frightful havoc in the place, the Beys, who commanded, acceded gladly to his proposal of negotiating. The garrison desired leave to despatch a messenger to Canea, and to await

jigger-mast astern; they may be sailed or rowed swiftly, and carry a great number of men, and one or more guns according to their dimensions.

* Eight of these pieces, mounted on siege carriages, were a gift from Kalergi, a Greek banker at St Petersburgh; the others were ship guns.

shipping from thence; but this demand Tombazi rejected, and it was finally agreed that the Turks should freight two Ionian vessels there present, and embark in them, and their own boats, taking with them their clothes, bedding, one musket or pistol, and one sabre or yataghan for each man. On the 5th of June they launched their boats, and commenced putting their effects into them and the two transports. The Greek soldiers, and especially the Cretans, who soon swelled to 3000, showed such violent discontent at the granting of a capitulation, that serious fears were entertained lest it should be broken. Neither did the army alone murmur; for like sentiments were expressed by the Ephors of the surrounding districts as well as the Primates of Sfakia, who visited the Harmost, twenty in number, riding on beautiful mules, and covered with gold and silver; an evident proof that they had been no losers by the war. Tombazi nevertheless very wisely persisted in his plan, and four hostages having been exchanged, 1500 Ottomans, men, women, and children, departed on the 6th, and on the 8th safely landed at Canea. Before they had completely evacuated Kissamos, the Bulgarians, occupying the extreme left of the Greek line, and 1000 Cretans, furiously rushed towards the town, intending to slaughter all they might find in it; but the Kranidiote captain induced them to halt, by discharging apropos a twelve-pound shot, which fell in the midst of them. In strict accordance with their stipulations, the Turks left untouched their magazines of ammunition and provisions, and sixteen pieces of artillery, only two of which (Dutch twelve-pounders lately taken from the insurgents) were in tolerable order; likewise a large quantity of muskets, pistols, and sabres, that had belonged to persons dead of the plague. Such had been the ravages of that distemper, that the ground to a considerable extent

around the town was full of new graves, and during the process of embarking the garrison, forty or fifty corpses were thrown overboard. Tombazi appointed a Hydriote commandant; but to avoid infection would not quarter any troops in the fort, which is a square, an hundred feet each way, with thick walls.

He now determined to march against the Turks of Selino, accounted the bravest in the island, who, to the number of 1500 armed men, had congregated from their villages, at a town called Khadeno, with their families, cattle, and effects. After summoning the whole of the Christian militia from the western parts of Crete, he advanced on the 11th one long march, and halted at a hamlet near Ennea Khoria, to give the reinforcements time to come up; a delay which defeated his project of surprising the enemy. At day-break on the 12th, his army, reckoned at 5000 (exclusive of 500 Sfakiotes coming from the opposite side), having received the benediction of some priests, moved forwards in three columns, and approached Khadeno; on the right they cut off a few straggling Moslems, but the left wing, being too much dispersed, fell into an ambuscade, and lost thirty men (all Roumeliotes), whose heads and spoils the Turks bore away.

Khadeno was a village of detached houses, near half a league in length, having at its western extremity a Pyrgos, or tower, where the Bey had mounted a one-pound gun; the dwellings being crowded with people, many were obliged to encamp in the void spaces betwixt them, protected by piles of loose stones; in the centre, and to the north, they had two square tambourias, each defended by fifty men.

Encompassing the place in very irregular array, Tombazi ordered these tambourias to be assaulted, and about 1500 of his soldiers ran towards them; but when they were within half musket-shot, the Turks, who

had concentrated themselves, made a brisk sortie, routed them, and poured a destructive fire upon the fugitives. Instantly the Greeks gave way on every side, and although not pursued, were with difficulty rallied, and brought back to their original position; they had about 110 killed, and as many wounded, while not above thirty Turks were slain.

Convinced by this essay how little he could depend upon the courage of his troops, particularly the Cretans, Tombazi judged it better to propose a capitulation to the enemy, on the same conditions as he had granted at Kissamos, and he therefore sent a prisoner to the Bey with a letter, offering to permit the Seliniotes to retire unmolested with their property to Canea; the Bey in return released two or three captives, and consented to a cessation of hostilities. Suspicious of bad faith, the Turks hesitated, and disputed among themselves; but the majority, reflecting that they were afflicted by pestilence, hopeless of relief, and in want of gunpowder and salt, opined for an amicable arrangement, and it was notified to Tombazi, that they closed with his proposition, and expected an exchange of hostages. This article threw obstacles in the way, because the Harmost's secretary, Œconomos, and a captain, named Vassili Khalis (both Cretans), suggested a nefarious project of destroying the Ottomans in their passage through the defiles. Unfortunately, Tombazi, instead of opposing it with energy, assented to the unanimous wish of his rapacious followers, indignant at the idea of again letting slip their prey, and as the matter soon became known among the Greeks, naturally enough not one of them would go in quality of hostage, and without such security the Bey would conclude nothing. Both parties, however, were at heart equally anxious to terminate the business, for the Harmost had heard a report of the arrival of an Egyptian

expedition, and he knew that most of his Cretans would make that a pretence for deserting. A casual event afforded him an opportunity of inspiring the Seliniotes with confidence in his honour: a Greek attempting during the truce to snatch a silver-mounted pistol from a Mussulman, the latter shot him dead on the spot. The Bey arrested the man, and sent him to Tombazi, who immediately set him at liberty, saying, "he had done perfectly right." This ostentation of generosity seems to have weighed on the minds of the garrison, and cured their distrust; for the insurgents having on the morning of the 14th planted two four-pounders on a hill, whence they could batter the Pyrgos, the Turks accepted a capitulation without insisting upon hostages.

No sooner had the Greek general put his hand to it, than with the same pen he signed an order for the contingents of Canea and Kissamos to occupy the defiles, and thus intercept them, while with the Sfakiotes, Seliniote Greeks, and his auxiliaries from the continent, he should pursue and fall upon their rear. The Mohammedans marched off at three o'clock in the afternoon, men, women, children, and cattle being huddled together; by half past four Khadeno was evacuated, and two hours later Tombazi set out in pursuit: only two individuals (the Philhellenes Hastings and Hane) refused to follow him, declaring their detestation of such treachery. Notwithstanding its probability of success, the authors of the abominable scheme in question were disappointed, for the Turks, being on their guard, sent forward a detachment of picked men, who turned and defeated with slaughter the Greeks in the defiles; and although continually harassed, and obliged to abandon many females, and a portion of their cattle, they mostly got into Canea. They had left at Khadeno 200 sick, recommending them to the humanity of the Christians; but the latter, as soon as they

were in full possession of the place, set fire to a mosque that served as a hospital, and burned or stifled them all. By his perfidy on this occasion, Tombazi entirely effaced the moral effect his conduct at Kissamos had produced, and to which he owed the easy reduction of Selino.

In the city of Canea, the Ottoman authorities, equally indifferent to the sanctity of conventions, neglected to accomplish an article of the capitulation of Kissamos, stipulating the liberation of certain Greek families detained by them; the consequence was, that the insurgents would not render back the four hostages they had kept. On the 16th of June, a division of thirty-six vessels of the Capitan Pasha's fleet touched at Canea, bringing supplies, and 300 artillerymen; a succour which, raising the presumption of its inhabitants, was a principal cause of their contemptuous behaviour in the affair just mentioned.

For the defence of her interests in Crete, the Porte chiefly relied on the Viceroy of Egypt; and Mehemet Ali, perhaps even then anticipating future possession of the island, neither spared expense, nor betrayed any lack of zeal, in combating the insurrection there. In spring he prepared, at Alexandria, a naval and military expedition, whose departure was retarded by pestilential contagion infecting the crews of his transports.

At length his admiral, Ismael Gibraltar, put to sea with forty-three sail (two of them very fine frigates), and in the end of June landed 5000 troops at Candia: the shipping returned to Egypt, to take on board a fresh army, and a general to supply the place of Hassan Pasha, who about this period died of the plague.

Having cleared of the enemy two rich cantons, and secured at Kissamos, a port whence he could communicate with the rest of Greece, without being dependent on the Sfakiotes, Tombazi bent his attention to-

wards appeasing the dissensions of the different Christian tribes, which at the moment of his arrival wore the aspect of civil war: the insolence and unbounded rapine of the people of Sfakia having wearied out the patience of the other Cretans, and provoked them to resistance. Two of those mountaineers, conducting themselves like determined robbers in a village of the district of Milopotamos, were shot in the street, and as, in conformity with immemorial usage, their blood cried for vengeance (which would have been exacted even from Turks in the zenith of their power), the warriors of Sfakia assembled at Comitades, designing to ravage Milopotamos with fire and sword. All the tribes of the lower country, making common cause, prepared to withstand their aggression: a Captain George Tyndaros, with 800 men of St Basil and Armenos, seized the intermediate passes, those of Rhetymo and Milopotamos collected in arms, and the Rizites of Canea threatened to invade Sfakia in the absence of its military population. Compelled to renounce their design, the Sfakiotes talked of submitting to the Turks, and thereby precipitating the ruin of the island: however, they did not at present go so far, but adopted a resolution of remaining at home, and lending no assistance to any canton that might be in danger. To facilitate an accommodation, Tombazi summoned a congress, inviting each province to depute two notables; but here a fresh difficulty arose, for every tribe wished the assembly to be held in its own territory, and envied its neighbours that honour. In order to neutralize the jealousy of the Sfakiotes and Rizites, who were the strongest and the most hostile to each other, Tombazi fixed upon the village of Arkhoudena in Apocorona, which, on account of the passive state of the eastern districts of Sitia, Girapetra,

Spinalonga, Mirabella, &c. might be considered a central point in the revolted country.

He was caught, however, in the very snare he sought to avoid; for when the deputies met at Arkhoudena, in the beginning of July, nearly the whole of the armed Sfakiotes came down there, and by their presence completely controlled the deliberations of the congress. Kalamaras, and two primates, named Papadaki and Œconomos, venturing freely to utter their sentiments, they insisted that the Harmost should banish them from Crete, and he was weak enough to comply. Encouraged by this first step, they laid before him a series of the most extravagant, and unreasonable overtures, demanding, for instance, that Sfakiotes alone should have a right to command troops, or govern forts, and that the magazines of every description should be intrusted to their care, and distributed at their pleasure.

Tombazi was now in a dilemma; his favourite counsellor, an old Hydriote sea captain, named Skourtis, advised him to concede whatever the Sfakiotes asked, while the more enlightened friends, who had accompanied him from Peloponnesus, Kalerji, Spagnolaki, &c., protested they would quit him in disgust, if he granted such arrogant claims, which it was impossible the other Cretans should ever tolerate: he was ashamed to yield, and yet afraid to give a flat denial. He therefore returned an evasive answer, cut short the business of the assembly, and restricted his views to raising a voluntary subscription for the purchase of ammunition; but the sum he obtained was very trifling.

Interpreting his reply in the mode that suited themselves, the Sfakiotes began to act upon it, sending parties to assassinate several persons who were obnoxious to them, and forcibly plundering the castle of Kissamos of the stores deposited there. It may well be deemed strange, that a small community, unable to bring into

the field more than 800 or 900 musketeers, should thus bully the Harmost, who, for a coup-de-main, could put in motion almost as many thousands: nevertheless, the Sfakiotes justly calculated on impunity, knowing as they did, that on account of their superior skill and bravery, no general in Crete cared to face the Turks without being attended by a body of their soldiers.

When Tombazi perceived that nothing could be done at Arkhoudena, he thought it better to proceed to the eastward, and reanimate the insurrection in that quarter, where it was compressed by a garrison of 10,000 Turks and Egyptians in the city of Candia: he consequently recalled his band of mercenaries, who, during the sitting of the congress, had been stationed before Canea, and engaged in frequent skirmishes. On the 24th of July, while their enemies were indulging in their noontide sleep, the Greeks suddenly advanced upon the Pyrgos and village of Darazzo (within half a league of Canea), and carried it almost without resistance: as it was esteemed a post of importance, the Moslems, in the month of August, made several fruitless attempts to recover it. However, in the unceasing war of ambuscades, the Turks were more successful, especially those of Selino, who distinguished themselves in that kind of operations, and killed in the space of a month about 200 Christians. In July, the Ottomans of Rhetymo, marching out of their fortress, were driven in with a loss of forty men.

Having given orders to draw together all the Greek militia of the island, the Harmost moved towards Candia: the Sfakiotes followed his standard, but to gain their aid, he was under the necessity of ratifying their pretensions, and conferring the command of the army upon Rousso, a measure which altogether indisposed the bulk of the Cretans. Rousso embittered their discontent, by displacing the officers, who had till now headed

the provincial contingents, and appointing in their stead captains of his own tribe; the result of which was, that the people showed a backwardness to serve, and, after much delay, only 2000 men could be mustered in the camp of Amourgeli (six leagues from Candia), where Tombazi joined them with 500 of those troops he brought from the Morea. He had been waiting at Vrisis, in the canton of Panakron, until Rousso sent him word that the forces were collected; but on his arrival at Amourgeli, he did not find that chief, who was gone, with 300 Sfakiotes, to impose one of his own relations on the reluctant people of Avlopotamos.

While the insurgents were throwing away their time in angry disputes, the Egyptian fleet, in September, made another voyage from Alexandria to Crete, convoying fifty hired transports laden with troops and stores. Aware of the Harmost's approach, Mustafa Bey, Mehemet Ali's lieutenant, marched out of Candia, in October, with an army infinitely superior in numbers to that of his opponent, and strong in cavalry; attacked the Greeks in their camp at daybreak, and totally routed them, Tombazi himself escaping with difficulty. The Christians confessed that the decisive battle of Amourgeli cost them 300 of their bravest champions slain on the spot, and the victors immediately overran the province of Milopotamos.

In the vicinity of Magarites, 600 persons, mostly women and children, having fled to the vast natural grotto of Stonarambella, where a handful of men could resist a host, the Ottomans blockaded them for a month; but learning that it was provisioned for a long period, and tired of expecting its surrender, they heaped up at its mouth brushwood, mingled with pitch and sulphur, and choosing a day when the wind blew into the cavern, set the pile on fire, and suffocated the poor wretches

with smoke, not one being left alive at the expiration of an hour. Tombazi endeavoured in vain to relieve those hapless victims, his soldiers being beaten in every rencontre, and on one occasion he was indebted for his life to the courage of Kormouli.

The Egyptian general resolved to push the insurgents so effectually, as to assure himself of tranquillity during the winter, a season which the Candiote Mussulmans were wont to spend at home, while even in that soft climate, the cold incapacitated from action the natives of the banks of the Nile. He pursued the Greeks, who, retreating before him, abandoned the defiles of Mount Ida, where they might have fought him with a chance of triumphing; but the remembrance of the defeat at Amourgeli had so powerfully taken hold of their minds, that they would not engage the Turks, and their army was constantly on the point of dissolution. It did, in fact, disband, when Tombazi, to prevent the submission of seven or eight districts, tried to stand his ground in Messara; and this misfortune obliged him to fly to the confines of Sfakia. The conquering Ottomans extended their ravages far and wide, and boasted that before going into winter quarters, they had put to the sword 3000 rebels, and dragged upwards of 7000 of both sexes into slavery. Whatever exaggeration may have coloured this statement, their successes spoke for themselves, since all the provinces from St Basil to Rhetymo laid down their arms, and the Harmost remained at Vaffè in Apocorona, making unavailing attempts to revive the spirits of the people, and courting the precarious friendship of Sfakia. In short, the insurrection of Crete had received its deathblow, and a multitude of Christians of that island emigrated to Cerigo or the Archipelago.

In the last days of December, a party of adventurers from Sfakia, informed that the castle of Karabusa was

slightly and negligently guarded, framed a plan for its surprise, and landing from their boats, unseen, scaled the fort, and would have mastered it, but for a groundless panic, which caused them to leap from the walls with such precipitation that of thirty-seven who perished, most were killed by falling upon the rocks. Among the dead was Captain Papadaki of Rhetymo, who, in the previous year, commanded the troops blockading Canea.

CHAP. IV.

Naval Campaign—Transactions in Peloponnesus to the end of 1823—Progress of Philhellenism in Europe.

THE appearance (June the 20th) of the grand Turkish fleet in the roads of Patrass might have been a source of dismay to the Moreotes, if the experience of the two past summers had not taught them that its annual visits were almost innocuous. However, as they were not yet thoroughly acquainted with the character of the new Capitan Pasha, whose fortunate debut in Eubœa seemed to promise some vigour, the government published an edict, enjoining the people near the coast to keep a strict look-out, and in case of a disembarkation to spread the alarm by preconcerted signals. Khosref Pasha soon calmed their fears, by gently sinking into the inept and indolent system of his predecessors. He began by declaring Messalonghi in a state of blockade, but although in the middle of July his fleet was augmented to sixty sail of men-of-war, by the junction of the Algerine and Tunisian squadrons, he could not hinder Greek boats from slipping into that place at the distance of a few miles from his anchorage. Like the redoubtable Kara Mehemet, the business he really applied himself to was the sale of permissions to Austrian, Maltese, and Ionian vessels to enter the gulf and trade with the insurgents, who exchanged their currants for arms and ammunition. His vanity also derived gratification from a visit paid him by the English Admiral, Sir Graham Moore, and the acting Lord High Commissioner, Sir Frederick Adam.

The reason assigned for his stay at Patrass was his expecting an Albanian army to arrive under Yussuf Pasha: but the latter coming almost alone from Prevesa in the beginning of August, and communicating details of the mutiny and desertion of his troops, Khosref determined to retrace his course to the Archipelago. Before doing this, it was however incumbent upon him to risk at least one effort for the relief of the Acrocorinthus, the sole fruit accruing to the Porte from an expedition wherein 14,000 of her soldiers had been sacrificed. With the immense force at his disposal, it was difficult for him not to attain his object; nevertheless, as Turkish generals are sometimes ingenious in contriving blunders, he so managed the enterprise as to insure an utter failure. Instead of detaching a strong squadron, he sent three ships of war and three transports, which, anchoring before Corinth, commenced discharging their cargoes: the insurgents drew back their outposts, and a party of cavalry descended from the citadel to the strand to receive the supplies. But as soon as the whole of the stores was put on shore, 2000 Greeks, previously concealed beneath the peak of Penteskouphia, rushed rapidly upon them; the horsemen fled, the mariners re-embarked, and the Hellenes bore off the provisions intended for the garrison. On the 27th of August, the Capitan Pasha sailed away, leaving fifteen armed vessels, three of which were frigates under the orders of Yussuf Pasha, whom the Sultan had nominated commander-in-chief of his sea and land forces at Patrass, Lepanto, and the castles. When the Ottoman admiral passed before Melos and Andros, he was waited upon by deputations of primates, with presents of cattle and fruit; at Tinos, where the Greeks of Syra and those of Mycone had taken shelter, his reception was different, the virile population assembling on the heights, prepared to give him battle. All

the bells were rung, the banners of liberty floated in the air, and a continual fire was directed towards his ships from four small cannon, and several thousand muskets and fowling-pieces. As contrary winds and calms detained the fleet for a whole day near the isle, the Eparch's resolution began to falter, and he hinted a wish of appeasing the foe by a complimentary message and peace-offering: the Tiniotes answered with much sense and spirit in the following terms: "What! you and others of your class have led us into this dance, and now you faint, and advise us to incur the reproach of cowardice? no! we will rather die!" Khosref Pasha took no notice of their defiance, and replied to some of his captains who desired leave to punish the insolence of those Gyaurs; "Know ye not that they are children? let them enjoy their sports." At his departure he fired a single gun as a token of remembrance, crossed the Egean, coasted along Scio September the 10th, and proceeded to Mitylene.

We have observed that in summer he traversed the Archipelago unmolested, and that, as soon as he turned away from the Asiatic coast, the Hydriotes and Spezziotes repaired to their own harbours. There they mostly lingered, murmuring against their own primates, and cursing the selfish avidity of the Peloponnesians, who would not contribute the money required for keeping the fleet at sea. This burden, indeed, Greece, without foreign assistance, could not long support, particularly as the sailors, pinched by want, having families to feed, and thrown out of all other employment, persisted in demanding high wages. The Psarrians, through their vicinity to the Turkish territory, were enabled to make the war maintain itself, but Hydra and Spezzia were too far removed from facilities of plundering the enemy. On the continent, the provinces, exposed as they were to invasion, had to bear the expense of pay-

ing and nourishing a swarm of irregular soldiery; and the Cyclades, in general extremely poor, could not, without total exhaustion, raise much in the way of taxes. Some of the more opulent shipowners, such as the brothers Condouriotti, Boudouri, &c., took upon themselves the charge of equipping and manning one or several vessels, according to the measure of their wealth and generosity, but there were few who had sufficient means and inclination to do so; yet allowing the navy to lie idle in port, was not only prejudicial to the nation, but fraught with danger to the principal citizens, from the blind fury of the starving seamen. In July of the present year, those of Hydra maltreated the Ephors, and threatened their lives, insisting that the shipping should be put in commission, that they might thereby earn their bread. These difficulties and debates were for ever recurring, and their deplorable results, already too evident in the ruin of Chios, were soon to be again exemplified in the destruction of Psarra. Hitherto Hydra and Spezzia had struggled on, stimulated by occasional donations from the Morea, the first fervour of patriotism, and the instinct of self-preservation: but the patience of the monied class was almost worn out, and it is problematical whether they would have stood a fourth campaign at sea, without the influx of the English loan. It would seem, however, that upon reflection all ranks felt a sense of shame and regret at the facility with which the Capitan Pasha had been permitted to execute his earlier operations, and all were equally eager to intercept and attack him on his return. Commissaries from the three naval republics met at Dhoko (or Hydron) to concert their plan; the government, in order to assist them with funds, raised the import and export duties on merchandise; and an armament of forty armed vessels, and six fire-ships, rendezvousing at Psarra, went from thence under Miaulis to cruise in quest of the

enemy. Khosref Pasha quitted Lesbos on the 20th of September, steering to the west, and followed by the Greeks: it is said that Miaulis then proposed to burn twelve Ottoman ships left at Mitylene, but that the Psarrian commodore Apostoli objected, because, as he alleged, they had drawn a cable across the mouth of the harbour. On the night of the 26th the islanders were dispersed by a gale of wind between Lemnos and Mount Athos, and next morning, before they could re-assemble again, Miaulis descried thirty-three sail of Turks bearing down upon the little group of vessels that were in company with him. Light breezes and calms prevented any general action, but from ten o'clock till two in the afternoon, the four brigs of Miaulis, Sakhtouris, Skourti, and Kalaphat, repeatedly engaged four Ottoman frigates, two corvettes, and a brig. They suffered severely, and Skourti, being attacked by two frigates, was in imminent danger, from which he was delivered by the advance and combustion of a brulot: it did no real harm to the enemy, but the sight of flames approaching them induced the Turks to sheer off. In the afternoon the hostile fleet surrounded the four Greeks, who, however, broke through the line, and rejoined seven of their own vessels, that, for want of wind, had not been able to come to their assistance sooner. We may remark, that among Greeks as well as Turks, the weather often afforded a pretext to disguise pusillanimity, and that it very rarely hindered Miaulis and a few valiant Hydriote captains like him from fighting their ships. At nightfall the insurgent squadrons rallied under Lemnos, and at daybreak of the 28th stood towards the islet of Agiostrati without seeing the foe; they then visited the shores of Lesbos and Chios, and learning nothing of the Capitan Pasha's movements, went to water and refit at Psarra.

After the combat of the 27th of September, Khosref

Pasha once more touched at Mitylene, and then crossed over to the Gulf of Volo, attracted thither by a prospect of pacifying the insurrection in Thessaly. In this campaign, fortune had altogether declared against the Magnesians, notwithstanding the aid they received from the Olympian refugees under Kara Tasso and Diamantis; the Turkish troops defeated them in battle, burned their villages, forced the passes of Pelion, and shut them up in the town of Trikeri. Discouraged by reiterated checks, they had begun to negotiate, when intelligence that the ferocious Aboulaboud was marching against them enhanced their consternation. According to a vague reckoning, not less than 40,000 souls were at one moment cooped up in Trikeri; but the captains of Olympus, as well as many other persons of smaller consideration, now made their escape by sea, and sought a safer asylum in the islands of Skopelos, Skiathus, Proconnesus, and Halonnesus, at the mouth of the Pagasetic Bay.

In this desperate predicament, the sight of the Capitan Pasha's fleet, cutting off their last hope of security, decided those who remained in the town to capitulate, to entertain the offer of an amnesty held out by the Porte, and guaranteed by the grand admiral, and to surrender some mistiks and small craft which they possessed. They had speedily reason to repent their reliance on Mussulman good faith; for no sooner were the Turks masters of Trikeri and its shipping, than they treated the inhabitants with as much cruelty as though they had been taken by assault, putting numbers of them to death.

Having terminated this affair to his full satisfaction, and being assured that the people of Skiathus, provoked beyond endurance at the vexations they suffered from Kara Tasso and Diamantis, were desirous of submitting to him, Khosref Pasha proceeded to that island,

and ordered one of his officers to effect a landing in boats with 700 men. Owing either to the sea becoming rough, to the resistance of the Olympians, or to both those causes combined, the attempt failed, and Miaulis suddenly appearing on the same day, (October the 23d,) with the Hellenic squadrons, an indecisive action took place off the rock of Pondikonisi, near the entrance of the Malian Gulf. The Greeks pretended that they twice broke the enemy's line-of-battle, and did him much mischief with their round and grape shot; but it is clear, that the combat was not to their advantage, since they were under the necessity of burning two fire-ships to save them from being captured. The gale freshening to a storm separated the two fleets; the Turks bore away for the Dardanelles, and the Christians lay to all night, and next morning went into Skiathus to repair damages. On the 30th they sailed in the direction of Trikeri, but found that all was over there. However this cruise was a fortunate one, for they fell in with an Ottoman flotilla coming out of Xerokhora, on the north coast of Eubœa, and consisting of a beautiful three-masted ship of twenty-six guns (lately purchased from an English house, and armed by the Vizier of Salonika), eight brigs, and two small craft. The Mohammedans on board this squadron, mistaking the Greek navy for that of the Capitan Pasha, made towards it, and discovering their error too late, ran most of their vessels ashore. Miaulis took undisputed possession of the corvette and four brigs, and had the satisfaction of restoring to liberty some Christian families sent by Ibrahim Pasha as presents to the grand admiral. One galliot was set on fire by its own crew, and blown up. Four Turkish brigs getting away to Agia Marina, the Greeks pursued, but finding them hauled on the beach, and prepared for

defence, did not think proper to attack, choosing rather to go and sell their prizes at Syra.

After a month's stay at the Dardanelles, the Capitan Pasha having received the necessary firmans, re-entered the Golden Horn in the beginning of December, and was followed by the greater part of his fleet, for many ships, damaged by the late storm, required to be repaired at the arsenal: two Turkish, and six Tunisian, frigates remained to guard the Hellespont. We may sum up in a few words the result of his summer campaign, from which the Porte expected so much: Carysto was relieved, and Trikeri reduced to subjection. The Algerines took a Greek schooner with seven men near Halicarnassus, as well as two large Samian boats, whose crews were sent to Rhodes, and the Turks and Tunisians captured two Greek merchant brigs (one of them fully loaded with oil) on the coast of Asia. The whole number of insurgent craft of every description, including the shipping surrendered at Trikeri, which Khosref Pasha could show to the Sultan as trophies, amounted to fifteen; and besides these, one armed brig of Kassos was taken by the Egyptians, and carried in to Alexandria.

As Psarra and Samos, during this year, pushed with redoubled vigour their harassing warfare against the isles and maritime districts of Turkey, we shall (although at the risk of appearing to dwell too long on minute details) give a succinct account of their inroads. In February, the Psarriotes, landing 200 men from twenty-six vessels and barks on Mitylene, plundered Plumani, its largest and most populous village; in the same month they made a descent near Follieri, and in the middle of March, one of their schooners cut out two Turkish sacolevas from the shore of Europe opposite to Tenedos. In April, sixty sail of Psarrians pillaged Lemnos, obliging the Ottoman garrison to shut

itself up in the castle, and on another occasion, having landed 500 Roumeliote troops in Thasos, they carried off eight Turkish vessels with their cargoes of oil, &c. The sortie of the Capitan Pasha forced them to suspend their expeditions for a short time, but when that danger was past, we have seen them undertake an enterprise on a grander scale.

Animated by their success at Sanderli, they, in August, disembarked on Imbros and seized a quantity of grain; and again invading the territory of Pergamus, set fire to the Mohammedan village of Azano. The Samians meanwhile were not idle: they renewed their incursions about Tchesmè and Vourla, and utterly destroyed (July the 17th) five villages near Scalanova. It is not easy to express to what a degree these constant alerts distressed the Anatolian Turks; their coasting trade was annihilated, and they dared not travel from one maritime place to another, since every bay and creek swarmed with Greek scampavias and trattas (or large row-boats), whose crews formed ambuscades on the high-roads. In the open towns and villages the Moslems lived in a state of irksome apprehension, with their weapons by their sides, each moment looking to be assailed, and ready either to fight or fly, according to the force that might come against them. What rendered the Samians peculiarly dangerous, was the fact of their ranks being filled with Asiatic exiles, who, wearing the Ottoman costume, and speaking the Turkish language, introduced themselves into the bazars and coffee-houses, and thus learning all which it imported them to know, could lay their plans with assurance of succeeding; insomuch that it frequently happened, that individuals, whose capture promised a considerable ransom, were made prisoners at the very gates of garrison towns. Hence, at Psarra and Samos, the war was esteemed a profitable speculation,

and owing to the facility with which captives were ransomed or exchanged, it entirely lost that type of cruelty which marked it in the European provinces. Instead of killing the residue of their prisoners, for whose liberation nothing could be obtained, the Psarriotes sent twenty of them to work on the fortifications of Athens. A rupture occurring betwixt the two revolted islands, which so unceasingly persecuted them, gave a partial respite to the Mussulmans of Anatolia. Claiming the same supremacy in their own neighbourhood, that Hydra exercised over a great part of the Archipelago, the magistrates of Psarra appointed an Eparch to govern Samos; but the Samians would not receive him, proudly declaring they had no need of Psarriotes, Hydriotes, or any other Greeks, to defend them against the Sultan's forces. "Corn (said they) we procure in barter for our wine, and Anatolia furnishes us with cattle, and every thing else we want; our arms suffice for our protection." Blockaded, however, for some weeks by four brigs of Psarra, they were compelled to lower their tone, and admit the Eparch.

As soon as the quarrel was arranged, they resumed their expeditions, and on the 20th of November carried off several hundred horses from Sokia. While the Ottoman fleet was at anchor in the Dardanelles, a scampavia manned by thirty Psarrians had the audacity to pass in the night both ships and castles, and to bring away a sacoleva laden with lakerda (a sort of pickled fish from the Black Sea), which they afterwards sold for 40,000 piastres. Another of their scampavias made prize of a sacoleva loaded with grain on the shore of Tchesmè; and in the first week of December, their mistiks, having surprised seven Turkish boats at Clazomenæ, caused so much agitation at Smyrna, that the consuls of England, France, Holland, and Austria,

afraid of troubles, thought fit to address a letter to the Primates of Psarra, requesting and summoning them to abstain from hostilities within the gulf of that city. If the Porte had stationed a few of its frigates and corvettes on the coast of Ionia, many of these depredations would have been prevented ; but as no such measure was even contemplated, the chief commercial emporium of the empire relied for tranquillity on the interested mediation of foreigners. Although always on the watch, the Turks were seldom able either to withstand or avenge the enemy's assaults, and we can cite this year only two instances of successful opposition on their part. In July, the Samians were repulsed near Scalanova, and five heads of their slain hung up in sign of victory, at the Pasha of Smyrna's gate ; and on the 28th of August, six Greek brigs and nine sacolevas having disembarked 230 men to plunder the village of Zeitunli, the Turks charged and defeated them with loss.

In Lesbos, the Mohammedans, who had begun by disarming the Rayahs, and treating them with severity, were now fain to restore their weapons, and authorize them, on condition of giving hostages to the Pasha, to use them against their revolted countrymen. Considering as hostile ground all that obeyed the Sultan, the insurgents continually disquieted the coast of Scio, which was slowly recovering from its desolation, as many of its people, not finding means of subsistence in the Archipelago, returned to their native soil. The mastic villages, enjoying special favour, were the first to rise from their ashes ; the others still languished, their resuscitation being impeded by the annoyance of Samian freebooters, the bad conduct of the Ottoman garrison, and the rigour with which the Kharatch collectors demanded arrears of the capitation tax.

Among the naval events of the year, we must not

omit a wonderful instance of dexterous boldness exhibited by twenty-two Greeks taken on board a small corsair by the Austrian commodore, and delivered up to the Pasha of Smyrna, who forwarded them to Constantinople. Fastened to the tails of the horses of their guard, they were dragged to Mohallitch at the mouth of the Rhyndacus, and there cast (bound hand and foot) into the hold of a vessel manned by seventeen Turks, which, crossing the Propontis, anchored before Koum Kapousi, a quarter of the imperial city. As it was intended to land them next day, three Moslems watched on deck, while the others amused themselves in the cabin. One of the Greeks having cut with his teeth the cord that tied their captain's hands, the latter disengaged his companions; they then mounted on deck, seized the arms of the Turks, killed or forced them to jump overboard, and the wind being favourable, instantly set sail and traversed the Sea of Marmora. At the Dardanelles they were hailed from the forts, and ordered to bring to; but answering in Turkish that they carried despatches to the fleet, and could not stem the current, were allowed to pass. Off Tenedos, they met in broad daylight an Ottoman frigate which chased them: whereupon they showed themselves on deck, and ran under the guns of the castle: deceived by this manœuvre, as well as by their beards and Turkish dresses, the frigate tacked and left them. Again, getting under weigh, they fell in with, and were fired upon by a Spezziote cruiser; however, on approaching, she soon recognised them, and after five days' navigation from Constantinople, they arrived at Psarra, and realized 17,000 piastres by selling the arms and effects of the Turks, their former keepers.

SECTION II.

ALTHOUGH little was done on either side in the Morea during the third campaign, yet, thanks to the listlessness of the Capitan Pasha, and the bad success of the Turkish troops in Roumelia, it concluded highly to the advantage of the Christians, who consolidated their possession of that peninsula by re-conquering the citadel of Corinth. A close investment of nine months' duration having exhausted his magazines, its commandant Abdallah Bey negotiated with Captain Staikos, who was at the head of the besieging force, and with George Kizzos, brother to Vassiliki, the Greek widow of Ali Pasha. Most of the Peloponnesian military chiefs, forming themselves into a council of war, presided by Colocotroni, assisted at this transaction; a capitulation was signed, and on the 7th of November Nikitas marched into the Acrocorinthus. Nothing in the life of this brave soldier redounds more to his honour than the conduct he observed on this occasion, and the integrity with which he executed the stipulated articles. His barbarous followers intended to act over again the dismal scenes that attended the first surrender of the same fortress, but Nikitas repressed with a firm hand their wicked design, sedulously protected the garrison, now reduced to 300 Arnauts, with forty women, escorted them to the haven of Cenchreæ, and superintended in person their safe embarkation on board an Austrian ship, which conveyed them to Salonika. Each Moslem was permitted to take his arms and twenty paras in money, besides a sum of 1000 piastres allowed to the Bey. The Greeks found in the castle 120,000 piastres, of which they expended one-sixth in freight and maintenance of the prisoners; likewise a large quantity of powder, shot, and shells, but no provisions, for the be-

sieged had been almost starving for eleven days. At the moment of pushing off from the strand of Cenchreæ, Abdallah Bey complimented Nikitas, saying that he had been able to appreciate his exertions in behalf of himself and his men, and owed him a debt of gratitude which he would be ready to repay at any future period.

Towards the extreme angle of Messenia, a war of skirmishes was carried on around Modon and Coron, the Greeks sometimes penetrating to the gates of Modon, and the Turks as frequently advancing to those of Navarin. Gregory, bishop of the former place, still commanded the insurgents, and was seconded by the French colonel Fabvier, lately come to Greece under the assumed name of General Borel. The least insignificant of these engagements happened about the middle of August, when the Mohammedans were worsted, and lost near fifty men. In the vicinity too of Patrass, on the confines of Elis and Achaia, small bodies of the two nations were continually encountering each other with varied fortune, little bloodshed, and without either permanently gaining a foot of ground.

We cannot so lightly skim over the internal disputes that distracted Peloponnesus, and brought into hostile collision the two governing councils, which, from the outset of their career, had been actuated by reciprocal ill-will and jealousy. With perhaps the exception of Zaimis, the members of the Executive were no better than public robbers, while the majority of the legislators, clinging to Mavrocordato's system, gave proofs (at least in their collective capacity) of patriotism and a love of order. It must notwithstanding be confessed, that the powerful adherents of the senate showed in their respective provinces as much rapacity as their adversaries; thus every corner of the peninsula was torn to pieces by obscure civil contests; hardly any revenue came into the treasury, and nothing of importance could be undertaken

against the enemy. The people, more sagacious than their rulers, saw with pain this growing anarchy, and cried out, that, three years' experience having demonstrated the incapacity of Greeks properly to administer their country's affairs, it was time to send a deputation into the west, and solicit a foreign prince.

After the government returned from Salamis, its constituent branches became more and more embroiled, and the debated question of an appropriate winter domicile led directly to an undisguised breach. Swayed by Colocotroni, the Executive took up its abode in Nauplia, and the Senate fixed its seat at Argos; an angry correspondence then passed between them, each council calling upon the other to change its residence. Harsher proceedings soon followed; availing itself of certain violations of the organic act of Epidaurus, committed by Count Metaxa, and Perouka, minister of finance,* the legislative body deposed them by a decree, and nominated Coletti to Metaxa's place in the Executive. So far from bowing to this assumption of power on the part of its rivals, the military faction, secretly abetted by a minority of fifteen senators, resolved to try the effect of a sudden blow; and accordingly Nikitas, Pano Colocotroni, and a Bulgarian officer named Hadji Christo, repaired to Argos (December the 10th) at the head of a detachment of troops. Their ostensible object was to demand money to pay the garrison of Napoli, their real purpose to dissolve the legislative body and seize its archives. In this latter point they failed; for the sitting having been adjourned till next day, the secretary Skandalides went with the archives during the night on board a vessel at the Mills. In the morning, Nikitas, having searched in vain the

* Metaxa had gone to Kalavryta to appease the quarrel of two captains without asking the Senate's permission, and Perouka, of his own authority, laid a new tax upon salt.

house of Anastasius Londos, menaced that of Vlasi, where the legislators were assembled in arms, with their attendants: no fighting, however, took place, and he and Panos, not having orders to proceed to extremities, marched back to Nauplia. Deeming it high time to remove from so perilous a neighbourhood, the senators broke up from Argos on the 12th, and hastened to Kranidi, some going by land and some by water; the few members attached to the Executive joined it at Nauplia. Coletti, pursuant to the instructions of his colleagues, also knocked at the gates of that fortress, claiming a right to take his seat at the board of government; but admittance being denied, he continued his route to Kranidi. When the majority of legislators were re-united there, they wrote to Hydra, inviting George Condouriotti and Panaghy Bottasi to come and share in their deliberations for putting down military tyranny; an invitation to which those two personages acceded without hesitation. Thus after twelve months' bickering and recrimination, the factions were at length ready to appeal to the sword, and plunge into civil war.

Greece, in 1823, had no relations, amicable or otherwise, with any neutral potentate, a decision of the Congress of Verona, confirmed by that of Teschen, having formally shut her out from the pale of nations. It is true that with the Septinsular Republic, which held the language of an independent state, she was involved in a discussion arising out of the sea-fight off Ithaca on the 10th of December. Sir Thomas Maitland published a violent proclamation, and his creatures spared no pains to blacken the Greek sailors, who certainly in the heat of battle had grievously violated Ionian neutrality. The matter was brought to an arrangement in 1825, by the Hellenic government paying to that of Corfu 40,000 dollars, which sum the latter handed over as an indemnity to the Porte.

Long ere that period, a stroke of apoplexy took away from the world one of the most bitter and persevering enemies of Greece; the Lord High Commissioner expired at Malta, January the 17th, 1824, and his death resolved a question that had been disputed with heat and acrimony; the feelings with which his own subjects regarded him. Lugubrious ceremonies were pompously enacted by order of the regency of Corfu, and Mavrocordato wisely inserted in the Messalonghi Gazette, an apologetic article deprecating any indecent expression of joy; yet the Greeks and Ionians did not the less crowd the churches to return thanks to Heaven. Although, in private life, often kind and generous, Sir Thomas Maitland was, at his demise, probably the most unpopular character in Europe. Such is the reward which crooked, heartless, and arbitrary policy earns from mankind!

Owing to the partial recognition of their blockades, it now rarely happened that the insurgents had unpleasant differences to settle with the commanders of foreign squadrons in the Levant; still, however, they occurred from time to time, particularly as respected the Cretan sea. Merchant vessels (chiefly French) persisted in trading with the Turkish ports of the Isle of Candia, neither could they be deterred by apprehension of being turned out of their course, or even consigned to the consul at Milo; all that Monsieur de Rigny permitted the Greeks to do.

On the 22d of February a Spezziote corvette discovered at the islet of Standia, six miles from the city of Candia, three transports (English and Austrian) employed in transboarding into two Ottoman brigs their cargoes of grain brought from Alexandria for the use of the garrison. The Spezziotes immediately captured the brigs, without further molesting the Turks, who sheltered themselves under the English flag, and took

out of the transports the rest of the corn as enemy's property, leaving some goods to liquidate the freight. Several French ships, expedited from Egypt, laden with provisions, furnished with false papers, and occasionally with Turkish supercargoes, were likewise detained in the waters of Candia, and treated in a similar manner; but Monsieur de Rigny invariably used force to exact reparation from Spezzia, Psarra, and Kassos. Knowing these facts, we may smile at the boasted predilection accorded to the cause of liberty by the Gallic marine, although we can understand why the French admiral was hated in Greece, and idolized at Smyrna. It must not, however, be inferred, that because the Hellenes were sometimes unfairly treated, they did not give many and just grounds of offence, since there is no doubt, that in this as in the foregoing years, numerous piratical boats, issuing out of the rocks of the Archipelago, Messalonghi, Galaxidi, &c., infested the Gulf of Corinth, and the Egean and Ionian Seas, greatly injuring neutral commerce.

What tended to console Greece for the political interdict she lay under, was the increasing sympathy of the most enlightened nations in Europe, and the active assistance she now began to derive from the spirit of Philhellenism, which had hitherto evaporated in good wishes. England, as was fitting, led the way, and although the number of persons who interested themselves in the cause, was there comparatively smaller than in any other country enjoying free institutions, yet the aid rendered from thence in the shape of loans was of by far the most important description. Those who guided the assembly of Epidaurus in its deliberations, had seen the inadequacy of their resources to meet the expense of a prolonged contest, and the necessity of endeavouring to raise funds abroad; and a decree having been passed, authorizing the Executive to bor-

row 5,000,000 piastres on the security of national lands, Andrew Louriottis of Arta, one of Mavrocordato's confidential friends, was sent into the west to try what could be done. This agent went first to Spain and Portugal, where the Constitutionalists, being on the brink of ruin, could afford him only compliments and professions of esteem.

In the autumn of the same year, Count Metaxa, having failed in his mission to the Congress of Verona, listened to a scheme suggested to him at Ancona by Captain Jourdain, for striking up an alliance with that *magni nominis umbra*, the Order of St John of Jerusalem. The Count delegated his full powers to Jourdain, and the latter visiting Paris in March 1823, and making known his object, was, through the intervention of Monsieur Raoul, counsellor of the order, admitted to a conference with the commission of French knights residing in that capital. Two plenipotentiaries (the Marquis de Marcieu and the Marquis de la Porte) being appointed to negotiate with him, signed a treaty, July the 10th, which was ratified on the 18th by the Grand Prior of Auvergne, the Bailly de Lasteyrie, the Chancellor, and three Commanders of the Order. In twenty-four articles, it stipulated the recognition of Greece, and the closest alliance and union between the high contracting parties, who formally guaranteed to each other the integrity of their respective territories, and agreed to share their conquests over the Infidels!

Amidst this ridiculous farrago, there were some clauses of a more serious complexion, particularly the 7th, 8th, 9th, 13th, and 14th; it was therein provided, that Greece should cede in perpetuity to the Sovereign Order the islands of Rhodes, Stampalia, and Scarpanto, and that until their reduction could be accomplished, the knights should hoist their flag upon Syra, as well as the desert rocks of Sapienza, Venetiko, and Kabrera,

at the south-western point of Peloponnesus. In requital for this concession, the Order engaged to raise a loan of 10,000,000 of francs, and to pay to Greece a subsidy of 4,000,000. However, the twelfth and fifteenth articles were exactly calculated to open the eyes of the Hellenes to the utter helplessness of their allies, since they declared, that the Order having neither forces nor credit, the loan was to be ostensibly contracted for in the name of Greece, which should also lend the knights a few troops for the defence of Syra and Sapienza. It is to be remarked, that the whole transaction did not properly appertain to the Order of Malta, whose principal seat was then at Palermo in Sicily, but to the commission of the three tongues of France. In August, Monsieur Jourdain, and the Chevalier de Chatelain, accredited minister to the Hellenic government, set out for Greece, with a copy of the treaty, and very full instructions; but before they arrived there, the scheme fell entirely to the ground, as it was found impracticable to effect a loan; partly owing to the want of tolerable security, and partly to the imprudent haste with which the Commission divulged the secret articles. The Greeks were too acute to be deluded by high-sounding words and a splendid seal, and they estimated the Sovereign Order and its venerable commission pretty nearly at their just value.

Meanwhile Louriottis, going on slowly and quietly without noise or pretension, entered a path that conducted him to the end his employers had in view. In the course of his peregrinations he reached London, where he fortunately made the acquaintance of Mr Blaquiere, and that gentleman, whose liberal opinions are matter of publicity, introduced him to several distinguished members of the English opposition. The details he communicated on the state of Greece excited interest, and a wish to contribute to the emancipation

of that oppressed region from the fangs of Mohammedan tyranny. A meeting having been held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern (March the 3d, 1823), a committee was formed, and Mr John Bowring, its honorary secretary, despatched, on the 8th of that month, circular letters to different parts of the kingdom, soliciting the co-operation of such persons as might be well disposed towards the Greek cause. The success of these overtures, which brought a considerable accession to the ranks of the committee, induced that body to call, by advertisement, a public meeting at the Crown and Anchor for the 15th day of May; it was numerously attended, Lord Milton took the chair, and after several able speeches, a subscription was set on foot, and donations subsequently poured in from various quarters. This, however, was not the first effort made in behalf of the Greeks in the British dominions, for Edinburgh preceded London; on the 21st of August, 1822, a very respectable assemblage met in the Merchant's Hall of the former city, presided over by Mr Stewart Menteith; and the celebrated Dr M'Crie having addressed them with great force and eloquence, L.500 were subscribed to alleviate the misery of the wretched Sciotes. The Society of Friends also, ever on the watch to promote works of charity, contributed, in England and America, a sum of about L.7000 to the same laudable purpose.*

But all these acts of generosity, although they might soothe individual woe, and prove to the Eastern Christians that their brethren in the West were not indifferent to their agony, could not materially affect the issue of the contest; and therefore it became a paramount object with the English Philhellenes to obtain,

* It would be ungrateful not to notice the unwearied zeal and very meritorious exertions of the Rev. Mr Barker of Thetford, who advocated with his pen the cause of Greece.

by means of a loan, elements of real strength for the insurgents. As it was a necessary previous step, that the latter should come forward and present themselves in the money market through official agents, Mr Blaquiere undertook a journey to Greece, with the design of imparting to them suggestions on that subject, as well as of acquiring information which might direct the committee in its ulterior measures.

Leaving London on the 4th of March, in company with Louriottis, he arrived at Tripolizza (May the 3d), and having passed two months in the Morea, and conferred at great length with Mavrocordato and other eminent personages, returned to England in September, when he laid the result of his researches before the committee in the shape of a circumstantial report. On his way out, he paid a visit to Lord Byron, then residing at Genoa; and the noble poet, who had already learned from his friend, Mr Hobhouse, the progress of Philhellenism in his native country, instantly declared his readiness to proceed to Greece, and to assist her struggle with his person, his talents, and his purse. Having once adopted such a resolution, his lordship was not a man to look backwards; he freighted an English brig called the Hercules, sailed from Genoa in July, and on the 3d of August cast anchor in Argostoli, the principal port of Cefalonia. Byron's enthusiasm, though deep, was not flighty, but moderated by reflection and solid judgment; he had heard rumours of dissension, and even civil war in Greece, and he was soon besieged by emissaries from the opposite factions, each striving to win his good opinion to their own party, and to prejudice him against their antagonists. At the same time, finding it almost impossible to get precise news of what the Greeks were doing, he followed the prudent course of staying in Cefalonia, while two gentlemen, whom he brought with him from Italy,

(Messrs Brown and Trelawny), travelled through the Peloponnesus to Hydra and Athens, in order to examine narrowly into the true posture of affairs. During their absence he was not idle; on the contrary, he, by his correspondence with Mavrocordato and the Hydriote Primates, and his pecuniary advances, accomplished two or three essential points. The first of these was, procuring that a squadron should be fitted out to relieve Messalonghi; the second was, hastening the departure of the commission appointed to negotiate a loan in London. In accordance with Blaquiere's advice, the Hellenic government had long ago decreed, that deputies should be empowered to transact that business, and had named Orlando, with whom Louriottis was associated; but in consequence of the quarrel between the Executive and Legislative bodies, the general anarchy, and want of funds, they loitered at Hydra, until now finally induced to commence their voyage by the representations of Mr Hamilton Brown. He accompanied them in November to Argostoli, where they saw Byron, and having received from the latter counsel and letters of introduction, went to Corfu, and embarked in the Falmouth packet. At home, the committee was at a loss to decide how they ought to employ the sum available in their hands, and amounting to near L.4000. After protracted deliberation, they determined to expend it, in engaging the services of a fire-master and a few artificers, and in purchasing ordnance, ammunition, and stores; in short, to send out all that seemed requisite for the formation of a military laboratory, and a small field-train: this expedition, of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter, sailed from the Thames (November the 10th) under the direction of Mr Parry.

The self-devotion of Byron was not the only sacrifice of the kind that gratified the adherents of a liberal

system in politics; for at this identical period, an officer of rank, a man of noble blood, of great literary acquirements and unsullied reputation, came forward, and braving the shafts of obloquy shot at him by his own caste, spontaneously underwent danger and hardship to dilate the freedom, knowledge, and happiness of the world.

Upon Blaquiere's return, the Honourable Colonel Leicester Stanhope offered himself to the committee as its agent, and coadjutor of Byron in his labours for the regeneration of Greece; and his offer being accepted with the highest satisfaction, he immediately set out, traversed Europe, passed a fortnight at Cefalonia in the society of Lord Byron, and arrived at Messalonghi on the 12th of December. Although his journey across the Continent was rapid, he yet found leisure to perform a very salutary work, by uniting the English Greek Committee with those of Germany and Switzerland, where Philhellenism had likewise struck its roots.

The lofty and enthusiastic character of the Germans, the love of liberty implanted in the breasts of the Swiss, naturally inclined them to espouse such a cause; committees were established at Stutgard, Darmstadt, Zurich, and Geneva, and they had already furnished considerable succours in money, arms, and soldiers. They were a good deal disgusted at the treatment experienced by the corps of volunteers that went to the Morea with Kefalas, but they did not despair, and readily assenting to Colonel Stanhope's arguments, agreed to act in concert with the English Philhellenes, and to place their troops and stores in Greece at Lord Byron's disposal.

Lest their zeal should flag, the Holy Alliance took care to give it fuel during the present year, by exhibiting an instance of senseless and wanton inhumanity, in the case of 150 Greeks driven out of Russia by an

imperial ukase. Repelled from the Austrian frontiers, in spite of the passports granted them for Trieste, denied permission to enter either France or the States of Sardinia, these destitute wanderers were saved from perishing by German and Helvetic benevolence, which, when the French government at last relented, supplied means of transporting them from Marseilles to Peloponnesus.*

* The number expelled from the Autocrat's dominions was far more considerable, but most of them died of cold and hunger in their winter journey through Russia, Poland, and Germany. The committees of Geneva and Zurich having, after repeated solicitations, obtained leave for the survivors to traverse France by detachments, sent them to Marseilles, and thence to Greece, at an expense to themselves of 25,000 francs.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK III.—CHAP. IV.

(No. I.)—*Circular of the London Greek Committee.*

London, Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, March 3, 1823.

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you, that several friends of the Greeks have met together for the purpose of advancing, by all the means in their power, that most important cause.

It is their primary wish to give action and effect to that sympathy, which, they have reason to believe, is very widely diffused over the country, and on that ground they venture to calculate on your co-operation, and to hope that you will allow your name to be added to the Committee, a list of whom accompanies this.

(Signed) JOHN BOWRING.

LIST OF THE COMMITTEE.

Bennett, Hon. H. G., M.P.
Bentham, Jeremy, Esq.
Burdett, Sir F., Bart., M.P.
Campbell, Robert, Esq.
Davies, Colonel, M.P.
Ellice, Edward, Esq., M.P.
Evans, William, Esq., M.P.
Erskine, Right Hon. Lord.
Ebrington, Lord, M.P.
Gilchrist, J. B., Esq.
Gordon, T., Esq. of Cairness.
Henry, J., Esq.
Hobhouse, J. C., Esq., M.P.
Hume, Joseph, Esq., M.P.
Hutchinson, Hon. H. C., M.P.
Lambton, J. G., Esq., M.P.
Lennard, J. B., Esq., M.P.
Maxwell, J., Esq., M.P.
Macauley, Zachariah, Esq.
Mackintosh, Sir James, M.P.
Philips, George, Esq., M.P.
Russell, Lord John, M.P.
Smith, William, Esq., M.P.
Taylor, Richard, Esq.
Williams, J., Esq., M.P.

(No. II.)—*Address of the Greek Committee.*

Crown and Anchor Tavern, May 3.

LORD MILTON, M. P. *in the Chair.*

THE present state of Greece is highly interesting to the friends of humanity, civilisation, and religion. Under circumstances the most disheartening, the Greeks have daily advanced towards that independence to which they had for ages anxiously aspired. The attempts to perpetuate their bondage have hitherto failed; nearly the whole of Southern Greece has been freed, and the Greeks are making continual progress.

Amidst the miseries of a war of peculiar ferocity and suffering, they have established a regular representative government, uniting the suffrages of the people, and obeyed wherever the Turkish power has been subdued.

It was impossible to contemplate this most affecting struggle without eager interest and anxiety. In Germany, Switzerland, and France, societies have sprung up for the purpose of advancing the holy cause. The sums they have raised have been very considerable; and the energy with which Grecian independence has been supported abroad, is as honourable to the Greeks as to their advocates and friends.

In England, where the sublime spectacle of a nation awakening into light and freedom, could not but be regarded with sympathy and admiration, a thousand proofs have been given of those feelings; and hitherto it is a matter of regret that they have produced so little of active and beneficial result. At length, however, a numerous committee has been formed of the friends of Greece, and the time is arrived in which they deem it right to make a public appeal. It is in the name of Greece. It is in behalf of a country associated with every sacred and sublime recollection;—it is for a people formerly free and enlightened, but long retained by foreign despots in the chains of ignorance and barbarism. While the attempts of the Greeks were limited within a narrow circle, and it seemed probable they would be instantly crushed by the Ottoman power; while it was uncertain whether there was a single element of successful opposition to Mussulman tyranny, it might be doubted how far it was prudent or justifiable to encourage a struggle, which might have aggravated the evil it was intended to remove. But the war has now changed its character; it is clear it can end in nothing, but in the independence or absolute annihilation of the Greek people. If the Turks could not put down the insurrection in its early stages, when the Greeks possessed neither arms nor military knowledge, nor strongholds, nor regular govern-

ment, what can they do now against a renovated nation, supported by the active sympathy of the Christian world?

It is to stop the effusion of blood, to consolidate a system of permanent tranquillity, to promote the progress of knowledge and virtue, to enable the Greeks firmly to possess and quietly to enjoy the land of their fathers, that the Greek Committee venture to solicit the co-operation of the British nation. In every point of view, they deem it most important for the general interest of man, that a strong and national government should exist in the Morea. To England commercially, and to the world in general, it could not but be eminently beneficial. On a religious ground, how strong, how irresistible is the claim of the Greeks upon their fellow Christians! Shall millions of our brethren be delivered up to the butcheries of the Turks? Shall the scenes of Scio and Cyprus be renewed, and a whole Christian people be extirpated?

The Greek Committee have been for some time occupied in deliberating upon the best means of promoting so noble a cause. They have opened a direct communication with the existing authorities in the Morea. They have also been actively engaged in corresponding with the different continental committees; and believing that they have now ascertained the most effective means of assisting the objects of their solicitude, they come before the public in the assurance of finding that co-operation on which alone they can rely for success.

The Committee have therefore determined on calling a public meeting, to be held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on Thursday, the 15th instant, at eleven o'clock. Chair to be taken precisely at twelve.

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAP. I.

Political aspect of Turkey—Plans and preparations of the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt—Internal affairs of Greece during the first six months of the year 1824—Ruin of the Cretan insurgents.

SECTION I.

SINCE the spring of 1822, when, for a moment, war with Russia appeared inevitable, the external relations of Turkey had been daily assuming a more pacific tendency, and the progress of the negotiation was such as to gratify the Sultan's pride, and allay any apprehension the Divan might have felt regarding the disposition of the Emperor Alexander. The English ambassador (Lord Strangford), on his return to Constantinople from the Congress of Verona, assured the Turks, that Europe was determined to leave the Greek rebels to their fate, and he proposed, by mediating as he had hitherto done, to arrange in an amicable way the differences between the Sublime Porte and the Court of St Petersburgh. Some mutual concessions had already taken place, for while the Sultan appointed Hospodars to the Trans-danubian principalities, and facilitated the Russian trade from the Euxine, the Czar, in requital, banished from his dominions those Greek refugees who declined swearing allegiance to him, choosing rather to continue Hellenes, than become Muscovites. In the autumn of 1823, there were signs of a closer approximation, one of the Emperor's diplomatic agents being ordered to proceed to Constanti-

nople, and superintend the commercial interests of Russian subjects. This personage (named Mintshaky), was expected in the month of November, but an accident that befell him near Bukorest retarded his arrival till the 17th of January. Of course, he was cordially welcomed, and the Sultan granted him as a boon, the liberation of the banker Danesi, whose arrest had been one cause of the misunderstanding between the two realms. But neither these friendly manifestations, nor the address of Lord Strangford, seconded by his colleagues at the Ottoman capital, could induce the haughty Mussulmans to yield the point which the Czar chiefly insisted upon; the complete evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia. The Turkish ministers repeatedly promised, and even despatched firmans commanding their troops to withdraw; but a fresh corps was always ready to replace those who retired. As the number of their soldiers in Dacia was small and inadequate to any military operation, their obstinacy on this head seems to have arisen from a pleasure they experienced in showing scorn towards the Christian powers, and holding in the negotiation that superiority of position which in their opinion true believers ought to maintain over infidels. Turks can only be worked upon by fear, and diplomatic wiles and tricks are entirely thrown away upon them.

On the other hand, while the longanimous Emperor (as he was affectedly styled), made a parade of his love of peace and self-abnegation, his cabinet was patiently ripening schemes, which for fifty years had been the very marrow of Russian policy. Count Nesselrode presented to the principal European courts a project for the pacification of Greece, singularly favourable to his master's ambitious views. According to this plan, the revolted territory was to be split into four divisions, governed by hospodars and municipal magistrates,

named by the Sultan, and tributary to him. If the Turks resisted such an arrangement, as they certainly would have done, Russia found an unexceptionable reason for going to war; and were it carried into effect, the Hospodariats were sure to become dependencies of Muscovy, whose consular agents would have given the law, and acted as arbiters in the disputes that could not fail to arise between the Greeks and the Ottoman garrisons which were to be left in the fortresses: at the same time, the principle of legitimacy would be preserved inviolate. The project was then rejected, but within three years, one not very dissimilar in its tenor was proposed by England, and signed at St Petersburgh. Nearly coinciding with Mintshaky's mission was the definitive ratification of a treaty of peace betwixt the Sultan and the Shah of Persia, so that Turkey, freed from any foreign enemy, had only her own rebellious subjects to combat. It was plain, however, that in her state of decrepitude, this task was too hard, and that her unassisted strength would never be able to subjugate the Greeks. The result of three campaigns had proved, that owing to the disorganization of every department of her administration, the inefficiency of her marine, and the avarice and jealousy of the Pashas, it was impossible to subsist a large army, and a small one could make no impression upon the insurgents. The necessity of seeking an auxiliary being demonstrated, there was but one to whom the Sultan could apply, his vassal the Viceroy of Egypt.

Born in a humble station at Kavalla in Thrace, and indebted for his elevation to his own talents, Mehemet Ali had, like the first Ptolemy, or Ayub, the father of Saladin, rendered himself lord of Egypt, and like them paid homage to a nominal sovereign. Perfectly indifferent to the means he used, employing as it suited him force and treachery, he, in fifteen years of strenu-

ous exertion, exterminated the Mamelukes, beat down the Arabian sectaries of Abdul Wechab, and pushed his conquests far into Africa. Despising the prejudices of his own faith, he was a determined reformer, although his reforms, like those of all Eastern despots, were directed solely to two points; augmenting his revenue, and forming a disciplined standing army. The first he brought about by a most horrible system of oppression and monopoly, turning the cultivators into bondsmen, and making himself the only merchant and landowner in the country; the second he effected by establishing an arbitrary conscription among the Fellahs, or Arab villagers, selecting officers from his Georgian and Circassian slaves, and purchasing the services of European instructors, several of whom conformed to Islamism.* Although he empoverished and depopulated Egypt, yet the immediate consequence of his young and violent tyranny was, by anticipating future resources, to give increased action to the body politic; a fact attested by his victories in Asia and Africa, as well as his persevering and successful efforts in Candia. It was apparent that his generals, his ships, and his troops, were better than those of the Porte, and his finances more flourishing. At the beginning of the revolution, he exhibited no enmity against the Greeks; and an idea went abroad, that he would coalesce with them, and declare himself King of Missir;† but from a fear of shocking the fanaticism of his people, he pursued a different line, and supported the Sultan, preferring to advance towards independence with slow

* Because the Pasha clothed his troops in uniform, entered into partnership with European merchants, brought engineers and steam-engines from London and Paris, and facilitated the travelling of English Milordi, he got the reputation of a great and enlightened Prince, while Egypt groaned under a worse yoke than she had endured since the days of Pharaoh.

† Egypt.

and cautious steps, rather than abridge the way by an open rupture, putting to hazard all he had acquired. As he was too formidable to be coerced, it was by favours that the Divan drew him on: Crete and Cyprus were almost appendages of Egypt, and his stepson, Ibrahim, who had been rewarded for his exploits against the Wechabys with the Pashalik of Jidda, was now promised that of the Morea, on condition of suppressing the revolt of its Christian inhabitants. Nejib Effendi, the Viceroy's Kapou Kihayasy, or representative at the Porte, being charged with the conduct of the negotiation, went with speed and secrecy from Constantinople to Cairo, where he arrived on the 28th of February. Mehemet Ali acquiesced in his proposals, and expressed, in terms of proper humility, his fidelity, and obsequiousness to the Sultan, upon which a judicious plan was framed for their combined operations; it being settled, that Ibrahim Pasha should invade the Morea with a large Egyptian fleet and army, that all the naval forces of the Porte under the Capitan Pasha should attack the islands of the Egean Sea, and that the Roumeli Valesi and Omer Vriones should march against continental Greece with the troops of European Turkey. Had they been quicker in their movements, if their measures had been as well executed as they were concerted, this campaign ought to have ended the war. Nevertheless, the insurgents, although divided among themselves, and aware of the enemy's vast preparations, were not afraid; passing from one extreme to the other, instead of dreading the Turks, they entertained for them an excessive contempt, imagining that all future attempts of the Mussulmans would prove as abortive as those preceding. So imperfectly were they acquainted with the nature of the force that was coming against them, that the Pallikars descanted with pleasure on the wealth they were soon

to acquire, by capturing the shawls, horses, and Damascus sabres of the effeminate Egyptians. They were, moreover, highly elated with intelligence that England had declared war against Algiers; a circumstance true in itself, but to which they attached a degree of importance it did not merit, for the Algerine squadrons had hitherto done them very little harm. Besides, from the usual maxims of the British government in its dealings with the pirates of Africa, hostilities were not likely to last long; indeed such was the case, since, after the ships of those barbarians had been locked up in their ports for a few months, peace let them loose again.

A far more real advantage, and one which enabled Greece to weather the approaching storm, was the conclusion of a loan, giving the sinews of war at her utmost need. On the 26th of January, the deputies Orlando and Louriottis arrived in London, at a propitious moment for their purpose, a mania for every kind of wild speculation having just then seized the English capitalists. A certain Count De Wintz, a Sclavonian by birth, and a general in the French service, endeavoured to turn this to his own profit, by setting on foot, in conjunction with a banished Exarch of Cyprus, a loan for the conquest of that island; but the deception, being too palpable, would not go down.

The Greek committee, which, through its secretary, had exposed on the Stock Exchange the fallacy of De Wintz's scheme, used all its influence on behalf of the authorized agents, and with more success than the most sanguine friends of the cause could have hoped. On the occasion of a public dinner given by the Lord Mayor, Orlando and Louriottis signed at the Mansion-house, February the 21st, a contract with the firm of Loughman and O'Brien, for a loan of L.800,000, at the rate of L.59 sterling for L.100 stock, bearing five

per cent interest, to commence from the 1st of January 1824. Two years' interest was reserved, and a sinking fund established of L.8000 annually, under the control of Messrs. Joseph Hume, M. P., Edward Ellice, M. P., and Andrew Loughman. All the national property of Greece generally, and the proceeds of the customs, fisheries, and saltworks specially, were assigned as security to the lenders. Some reports unfavourable to the stability of the Hellenic government having subsequently reached England, a clause was introduced, importing that to prevent misapplication of the money, it should be lodged at Zante, in the hands of Count Cæsar Logotheti and Mr Samuel Barff, and not paid over without the concurrence of a mixed commission, composed of Lord Byron, Colonel Stanhope, and Lazzaro Condouriotti. The first instalment of L.40,000 was despatched from England on the 31st of March, on board the Florida, a fast sailing brig, in which Mr Blaquiere likewise took a passage. On the whole, the accomplishment of this loan was one of the most extraordinary events of the contest; it tended to the salvation of Greece, and however onerous the conditions might appear at first sight, they were undoubtedly highly advantageous to her. In order to procure L.280,000 (all that was available, after deducting interest, commission, sinking fund, and other drawbacks), she incurred a debt of L.800,000; yet taking into account her precarious situation, the wonder is how she got credit.

Meanwhile, the exertions of the committee to awaken public sympathy went on prosperously, and from the University of Cambridge, Manchester, Liverpool, Aberdeen, &c., subscriptions flowed in. They would have been still more abundant, and the sympathy more widely spread, if party spirit had not been at work to counteract it: as the advocates of Greece were almost

exclusively Whigs and Liberals, a vast proportion of the Tories thought themselves bound to discountenance Philhellenism.

SECTION II.

AFTER their hasty flight from Argos, a majority of the senators reassembled at Kranidi, where they were joined by Condouriotti and Bottasi; Zaimis, too, having by letter assured them of his intention to adhere to their party, measures were immediately taken for breaking the power of the old executive council. A committee of nine, chosen out of the legislative body to enquire into the conduct of Petro Bey and Sotiri Karalambi, presented a report, December the 31st, containing thirteen articles of impeachment against them. Colocotroni had resigned his office, Metaxa was deposed, and the two now accused declining to appear and justify themselves at the bar of the house, the Senate considered four places in the Executive to be vacant, and filled them up by naming George Condouriotti president, Bottasi vice-president, and Londos of Vostizza, and Spigliotaki of Mistra, members, with Coletti. The leaders of the military faction perceiving a strong constitutional opposition arrayed against them, would fain have avoided coming to extremities, and it was for that reason Colocotroni announced his resignation, and resolution to undertake the siege of Patrass; but no option being left them between submission and armed resistance, they prepared for the latter. Petro Bey and Colocotroni went to Tripolizza, and the captains friendly to them began to muster their retainers.

The weight of numbers, wealth, and talent, was enlisted on the side of the Legislative body and new Executive, the islanders being zealously attached to them, and the families of Notaras, Londos, and Zaimis, keep-

ing in their interest the northern parts of Peloponnesus, while Mavrocordato induced Western Greece to acknowledge their authority. Of their adversaries the strength lay entirely within the Morea, principally in Arcadia and Laconia; however, even Maina was divided, Murtzinos of Skardamoula, a powerful chief and rival of the Mavromikhalis, declaring in favour of the Senate. Eastern Greece was neutral, and so also was Elis, although its primate Sisini rather inclined to the military party. The fortresses of Napoli di Romania and the Acrocorinthus were in Colocotroni's possession, and he endeavoured to buy the commandant of Monemvasia, who slighted his offers. What gave the constitutionalists a decided superiority, was the prospect of a loan being raised by their agents, as it was clear victory would depend upon money. Hence, several of those who held employment under the old Executive deserted its camp, and among others Papa Flessa, hitherto closely linked with Ypsilanti and Colocotroni. The latter suspecting his fidelity, sent soldiers to arrest him at Tripolizza; his dwelling was broken open, and two of his servants slain in the scuffle, but Dikaios, escaping out of a window, and flying to Kranidi, his ardent temper and ready eloquence inflamed the animosity of his new allies. Hostilities were prefaced by an interchange of invectives and recriminations, the constitutionalists reproaching their opponents with their rapacity, peculation, and contempt of the laws, and branding them as robbers, and Antarts or rebels: these again appealed to their former services, exclaimed against the ambition of the Fanariotes, the selfishness of the Kojabashees,—complained that military men, the true assertors of Grecian independence, were unjustly persecuted, and represented the promised loan as a virtual sale of the Morea to England, which would treat it like Parga. As in other things, so in this war of

words and proclamations, the advantage rested with the legislative body, which had at its devotion the ablest writers and speakers, and the printing-presses and newspapers just then established at Messalonghi and Hydra. A last attempt was made at conciliation through the medium of Ypsilanti, who since the assembly of Astros had been leading a retired life at Tripolizza, surrounded by a small coterie, whose daily business and amusement it was to rail at Mavrocordato. Petro Bey and Colocotroni, who neglected him in their prosperity, would now gladly have had the support of his name, but his patriotism was too pure to allow him to engage in a civil war. He consented, however, to become a peacemaker, and for that purpose went to Kranidi on the 22d of February, and was rather coolly received. Next day, being admitted to an audience of the Senate, he exhausted every argument in preaching the necessity of union, and finished by proposing that the decree condemning Metaxa should be cancelled, that Colocotroni and Petro Bey should resign their seats in the Executive, which would then have consisted of Condouriotti, Bottasi, Coletti, Metaxa, and Sotiri; after a long debate these terms were rejected, and Prince Demetrius returned to Tripolizza. When the new government determined to resort to arms, the means of doing so were within its reach; the president and vice-president had great command of money, Hydra and Spezzia supplied a naval force, and it was easy to levy musketeers in the kindred Albanian townships of Poros and Kranidi. On the 14th of March an edict was posted up, ordaining that Nauplia should henceforth be the seat of government; and on the 18th, two brigs of war, commanded by Miaulis, took on board the executive and legislative bodies, and sailing up the Argolic Gulf, anchored at Lerna. On the morning of the 19th, Miaulis cannonaded the village of the Mills, and

some troops advancing from Astros, under Zacharopoulos of Mistra, a detachment which Pano Colocotroni had stationed there with two fieldpieces, fled to Argos. Next morning the government summoned Pano to open the gates of Nauplia, where he, his mother-in-law Bobolina, and Count Metaxa, were shut up with a few hundred mercenaries, and on his refusal declared the fortress in a state of blockade, which at sea was maintained by the two brigs and two gunboats, and on the land-side by 500 Poriotes and Kranidiotes. Captain Christodoulos of Poros entered Argos on the 25th without resistance; and on the 2d of April, the garrison of the Acrocorinthus surrendered it to George Kizzos, whom the government had appointed commandant. Resolving then to reduce Tripolizza, the constitutionalists put 2000 men in motion, under Andreas Londos, Zaimis, John Notaras, and Yatrako. Two of the brothers Delhiyani came to Colocotroni's assistance with 600 of the militia of Karitena, and several skirmishes were fought, attended, however, with very little bloodshed, for this was more a contest of intrigue and finance than of the sword; the soldiers, indifferent to the passions of their chiefs, generally fired in the air, and the prisoners taken in action were set at liberty. The Antarts could not long hold out at Tripolizza, because they were short of ammunition; Petro Bey and Colocotroni quarrelled, and a scarcity of food exasperated the numerous population. They began, therefore, to enter into conferences with their opponents, and getting a promise of being allowed to retire to their homes unmolested, evacuated the town on the 15th of April, when Londos immediately marched in. Upon intelligence of this advantage, the Legislative body transferred its residence to Argos, the Executive still remaining on shipboard. Although Colocotroni went to his own house with only fifteen



followers, yet in his native province of Karitena he soon gained fresh strength, and in his turn blockaded the constitutionalists in Tripolizza, while his confederate the Bey repaired to Maina, and endeavoured to possess himself of Calamata. On the 27th of May, the Hydriote captain Kalafat appeared with his brig in the Messenian Gulf, and landed a company of soldiers under Mourtzinos: some overtures for an accommodation then passed, but did not stop the progress of hostilities; the government forces seized the Bey's house at Marathonisi, and, on the 9th of July, he and his brother Constantine assembling an army of Mainatts, defeated in battle the people of Calamata, and plundered their territory.

None of the military leaders showed a more inveterate spirit of enmity than Pano Colocotroni, who was continually cannonading, as though his object had been to consume all the ammunition and projectiles in Nauplia, and frequently sallied out and fought sharply with the troops posted at Aria; he also threatened to put to death the civil governor Vlasi, whose opinions he suspected to be adverse to those of his own party. Yet even his resistance was approaching its term, his magazines being nearly emptied, and his mercenaries clamorous for their pay; at the same time information that an instalment of the loan had reached Zante, rendered the government stronger and more popular. Perceiving that he must either strike a decisive blow, or give up all chance of retrieving his power, old Colocotroni prepared for a great effort, and, on the 18th of May, advancing to the walls of Tripolizza, ordered his second son Yani, his nephew Nikitas, and his brother-in-law Kolliopoulo, to march in three columns upon Argos, at the head of a small army recruited in Arcadia. On the 19th, Nikitas and Kolliopoulo occupied Kouzzopodi, within a league of Argos, and proceeded

across the plain towards Napoli; but Hadji Christo, a Bulgarian officer in the service of government, met them with a few troops at the village of Dalmenara, and kept them in check till night: eight were slain on the side of the constitutionalists, and many wounded. Next day the Antarts advanced again, and finding Hadji Christo posted at Tyrins attempted to dislodge him, when Makriyani hastened to his support with 50 soldiers from Omerbackan (a village on the road to Corinth), and encountering a far superior body of the enemy under Nikitas,* charged and routed them. Their third column, commanded by Yani Colocotroni, came to Kouzzopodi on the 21st; and on the evening of the 23d, Pano making a sortie, his brother succeeded in entering Napoli. The rebels had combined a plan of attack for the morning of the 24th; when the two young Colocotronis sallied, Nikitas and Kolliopoulo marched by Kouzzopodi to surprise the senate at Argos, and 300 Tzakounians, hired by Metaxa's direction in the district of Prasto, approached the Mills along the shore of the gulf. Their plan was not badly laid, but very ill executed by the Moreotes, who were not men to cope with the Roumeliotes and Bulgarians in the pay of government. At sunrise, the Tzakounians assaulting Lerna, which had hardly any garrison, were repulsed by a fire of grape-shot from Miaulis's brig, and driven into a ruined castle on the top of Mount Pontinus, where Hadji Christo, coming up from Argos, obliged them to capitulate; a part enlisted with him, and the others, on making their submission, were allowed to return to Prasto. Nikitas and Kolliopoulo attacked Argos by the ancient quarter of Diras, be-

* In imitation of Sylla and Souvaraff, Nikitas threw himself on the ground, protesting he would die there; but his troops still fled, and hearing the terrible voice of Makriyani ordering him to be seized, he rose and followed them.

tween the hills of Larissa and Phoroneus, but were defeated by John Notaras and the brave Captain Makriyani, who pursued them on the road to Bellesi, and took their baggage. Just as the action concluded, General Odysseus, accompanied by Negris, and a troop of horsemen, arrived from Salona, and, with his usual craft, congratulated the conquerors, and offered his mediation. On the 29th and 30th, the troops of government moved towards Tripolizza, in order to raise the blockade. However, their victory, in the past skirmishes, put an end for the present to the civil war, since Colocotroni, losing courage, demanded an interview with Zaimis and Londos, who went out of Tripolizza, June the 3d, to confer with him. As great Peloponnesian primates, and consequently his rivals, they willingly assisted in pulling him down, but it did not suit their policy to crush him entirely, because they foresaw, that at a future period he might be useful in withstanding the preponderating influence of the islanders, and they therefore granted him excellent terms. He agreed to deliver the keys of Nauplia to them, and to acknowledge the new Executive, on condition that Pano should receive a sum of 25,000 piastres for the payment of his soldiers; then despatching a confidential messenger to let his sons know how matters stood, he departed to Karitena, and Zaimis and Londos proceeded to Argos to carry the convention into effect. In the meanwhile, the garrison of the Burj revolted, and turning out the commandant, gave up the castle to the Executive on the night of the 5th. At the same moment the Greeks found themselves involved in a dispute with the French marine, which sometimes forgot its professed neutrality. The corvette La Chevrette, and the brig Le Cuirassier, came into the Argolic Gulf, and anchored, the first at the Mills, the second under Itchkalè; on board the latter, were the consul of France at

Milo, and an Armenian banker, and the purport of their visit was to ransom the two Pashas confined in Nauplia. In vain Miaulis fired signal guns to warn them against breaking the blockade; they heeded him not: and Monsieur Duperrè, commanding the corvette, being applied to by the Greek government, declined recalling the Cuirassier, whose captain, Le Blanc, communicated with the fortress. The government then formally protested against his conduct as being contrary to the law of nations, and, at its desire, Odysseus went by land to Nauplia, to persuade Pano not to surrender the Pashas. In the ensuing night, Rhodius, secretary to the Executive, took possession of the Burj, and hailed the brig, declaring that he was about to cannonade the town, and would not be answerable for what might happen, if she persisted in remaining in the line of fire. Next day the French ships sailed away without accomplishing their aim. On the 19th, Colocotroni's two sons evacuated Napoli, and went to join their father, and six commissioners named by government occupied the forts with 200 men: on the 22d, the Legislative body repaired thither from Argos, and on the 24th the Executive made its triumphal entry, escorted by 350 soldiers of Hadji Christo, under a salute from the batteries, and amidst universal rejoicing.

One thing alone now seemed wanting to set beyond all question the legality of the existing government; namely, the act of renewing the Senate, which had sat for a longer time than the constitution prescribed. A law of elections, postponed at Epidaurus, was promulgated at Hermione towards the close of what was called the second period, and sanctioned by the congress of Astros.* In conformity with the provisions of that

* The tenor of the law here cited was as follows:—In each village the people shall choose a respectable delegate, who shall be furnished

law, a decree emanating from Argos (April the 18th), summoned the people to choose representatives, an operation which proceeded slowly, and was not terminated for several months: of course, many of the old deputies were re-elected out of compliment to the victorious party. But in that very party the seeds of dissension were already springing up; the Executive being displeased with Zaimis and Londos for their lenity to Colocotroni, and suspecting there were secret articles in the treaty they had so hastily patched up with him, instead of sending his head. A point of overt discussion arose respecting the Amazon Bobolina, who had amused her leisure hours during the last winter in stealing and selling the brass guns of Napoli, and in coining base money, a business conducted for her by an Armenian of the family of Duz Oglou, who formerly managed the Sultan's mint. Condouriotti ordered her to quit the town, and insisted on her expulsion, although Zaimis and Londos interceded for her. Taking umbrage at the President's pertinacity, and the dissatisfaction manifested on account of their transactions with Colocotroni, the two primates departed to their provinces in about a fortnight after the surrender of Nauplia. The effects of their ill-humour were not immediately visible, and it passed almost unnoticed, the attention of Greek politicians being engrossed by the English loan. After a voyage remarkable for its celerity, the Florida reached Zante on the 24th of April, when the first news that

with testimonials signed by a majority of the householders: these delegates will then meet at the chief town of the Eparchia, which likewise appoints delegates, and all these electors together are to name their representatives. Eparchias of less than 25,000 inhabitants return one, of above that number, two deputies, who must be Greeks, twenty-five years of age, either natives of the province or domiciliated there for five years, possessing immovable property, and enrolled as citizens. The elections are annual, and ought to be concluded by the end of March.

fell upon Blaquiere's ear announced Lord Byron's death. Thunderstruck at this intelligence, he sent off couriers to the Hellenic government, Mavrocordato, and Stanhope, and pressed upon Barff and Logotheti the necessity of paying over the money on a requisition of the two surviving commissioners. Stanhope arrived on the 12th of May, but so far from agreeing with his brother Philhellene, he expressed an opinion that the cash ought not to be issued, whereupon Barff and Logotheti declined acting under an imperfect commission. The members of government, who for six weeks had been living on dreams of the loan, were not a little nettled at finding the golden apple would not drop into their mouths so easily as they hoped: they complained of the appointment of commissioners, and suffered eighteen days to elapse ere they fulfilled the preliminary obligation of returning the contract to Zante properly ratified. In proportion to the affliction of the constitutionalists, rose the delight of the military faction, which left no stratagem untried to swamp their country's credit, and perpetuate disorder even at the risk of bringing back the Turks. They had agents at Zante employed to spread unfavourable reports, and one Demetrius Perouka of Argos, a clever but exceedingly worthless person, actually set out for London with the patriotic design of dissuading the English capitalists from advancing funds to Greece; however, he got no farther than Corfu. The secondary arrangement of depositing the money at Zante or Cerigo, and giving a third party the right of controlling its expenditure, might not have proved injudicious, if a sufficient quorum of commissioners could have been found able and willing to undertake the responsibility: at any rate, it ought to have been kept secret in order not to compromise the Ionian authorities, instead of being blazoned forth as it was by a decree of the Greek govern-

ment, which forced the Lord High Commissioner to publish (June the 19th) a counter proclamation prohibiting any such deposit within the Septinsular States, and awarding exile and confiscation of goods to subjects or resident individuals who should interfere in transmitting those funds: thus what was meant as a measure of precaution multiplied obstacles. On the 31st of May, Emanuel Xenos and Nicholas Kalerji sailed from Hydra, in full confidence of touching the sum of L.40,000; but as no fresh communication had come from London, the same difficulty prevailed, and after ten days of fruitless debate, they went back empty-handed. The brig Little Sally arrived at Zante (June the 13th) with a second instalment equal in amount to the first, and which, like it, was locked up in Barff's counting-house. The Greeks were now in despair, the more so, as their protests and guarantees of indemnity were of no avail; for Count Logotheti, a respectable nobleman, but old, infirm, and timid, showed the utmost terror at the menaces contained in the Lord High Commissioner's proclamation, and there was reason to think that he could never be brought to act. However, when hope was nearly extinct, at the end of July the consignees got instructions from London to pay the money, and Barff, overruling his colleagues' scruples, shipped off the L.80,000 he held for Nauplia.* In this agitation and turmoil, nothing was or could be done against the

* When the Ionian authorities officially asked Mr Barff whether any part of the loan was in his hands, he merely replied, "If the money is intended for the Greeks, to the Greeks it shall go, though I should be obliged to go along with it." He was one of the steadiest friends of the cause, and sacrificed every year considerable sums in relieving distressed refugees and needy Philhellenes, besides the loss of his business at Constantinople. Few persons are aware how much Greece was indebted to him at that moment, for the lenders, becoming alarmed, were on the point of cancelling the loan, when they learned that L.80,000 were paid. Mr Barff was rewarded with ingratitude, but

Turks in the Morea, if we except an attempt in March to surprise Coron, which failed in the same way as that upon Karabusa, the assailants being seized with a panic after the walls were already scaled: the consequence was, that about twenty of the bravest, who long defended themselves in a house against the whole garrison, were destroyed by the enemy's setting it on fire.

SECTION III.

TAKING leave for a season of the Morea, we shall cast a glance over the other portions of the confederacy, beginning with Western Greece.

There can be no doubt, that in going to Messalonghi, Mavrocordato calculated upon the countenance and pecuniary aid of Lord Byron and the Philhellenic committees, without which his situation was sure to be a bed of thorns. On the day subsequent to his own arrival he had the satisfaction of seeing Colonel Stanhope, who hastened over from Zante, bringing the cheering news that Byron might soon be expected. His lordship had finally determined on visiting Messalonghi, but it was never easy to induce him to commence a journey, and he still delayed, in spite of Mavrocordato's letters and messages; and, although Grecian vessels of war were repeatedly placed at his disposal, he rather chose to proceed in an Ionian craft hired by himself, a plan which exposed him to much inconvenience and danger. Departing from Argostoli (December the 28th), he spent the 29th in the harbour of Zante, transacting business with his banker, Mr Barff, and sailed for the mainland on the evening of the 30th.

the fault belonged not to the nation, which esteems and loves him; it is to be ascribed to Capodistria's animosity towards all Philhellenes, not partisans of Russia.

He was with a portion of his suite on board a mistik, and Count Gamba, with the rest of his servants, horses, baggage, and 8000 dollars in specie, was embarked in a Cefalonian bombard. It happened that on the same night, the Ottoman squadron, informed that the Hydriote vessels were gone home, and only the Spezziotes remained, ventured out of the gulf, and, off the cluster of islets called Scrofes, one of their frigates fell in with Byron: he escaped into a rocky cove, but the bombard was taken and carried into Patrass. Fortunately the captain of the frigate recognised in the Cefalonian skipper a man who had once saved his life in the Black Sea, and as Turks are seldom ungrateful, he represented the matter to Yussuf Pasha in a light favourable to his prisoners, who asserted they were bound for Calamos, a statement borne out by their papers. They had, however, left that island behind them, and the circumstances of their capture were so suspicious, that we must do justice to the Pasha's discretion and urbanity; he treated Gamba with civility, and on the 4th of January released the bombard, which ran into Messalonghi. Lord Byron was not yet arrived there, having after their separation put into Dragomestri, whence he wrote to Mavrocordato. The latter immediately sent him a brig and five gun-boats, and after again encountering the perils of shipwreck, he landed at Messalonghi on the 5th, amidst extravagant marks of joy.

That town was in a strange state of confusion, which might well have damped the ardour of the illustrious Philhellene. Mavrocordato, having been named director-general of the province, had collected an assembly of all the captains and many of the primates of Western Greece, who came attended by their armed followers, so that the place was crowded with wild soldiery; and as these were unpaid, and scarcely fed, there was a con-

tinual apprehension of quarrels and disturbance, especially as the chiefs neither agreed among themselves, nor were all well affected to Mavrocordato. The most unruly corps was that of the Souliotes, most of whom, tired of living inactive in Cefalonia, had come to Etolia, and distinguished themselves in repelling the Pasha of Scodra's invasion. Since the battles of Karpenisi and Kalliakouda, they were quartered in Messalonghi and Anatoliko, a heavy burden to the inhabitants, and they now demanded, in no gentle terms, their arrears of pay for eight months. Equally pressing, and more unreasonable, the Spezziote seamen insisted upon sailing away if they were not paid in advance, and Mavrocordato was forced to borrow small sums from all who could lend. He laid before the assembly a plan for securing a fixed revenue; the chieftains heard his speeches with patience, contradicted none of his arguments, and dispersing to their mountains, conducted themselves in the same irregular way they had hitherto done.

Lord Byron had long been anxiously looked for, he was expected to pour out an unfailing supply of money, and the instant he set his foot on shore, he was besieged by visitors of every class, always beginning their harangues with adulation, and terminating them by begging. It required no ordinary share of coolness and judgment to bear with these endless importunities, and to select proper objects on which to bestow the wealth he intended to devote to Greece. With admirable clearness of vision, he saw at once the delicacy of his position, the character of the people he was amongst, and the nature of their most urgent wants. Conceiving that the essential point was emancipating them from the Turks, and that this was to be done by promoting concord, and improving their military organization, he employed for those purposes all the influence of his



name, talents, and riches, and no crosses could make him swerve from the path he had marked out for himself. In Mavrocordato he found a congenial mind, and they always acted heartily together. His other coadjutor, Colonel Stanhope, as sincere in his wish to do good to Greece, took a quite different view of the mode in which she ought to be assisted; he did not deny the advantage of union and discipline, he was willing to aid in their establishment, but, comparatively speaking, he considered them of lesser moment. A zealous disciple of Mr Bentham, neglecting the present crisis to gaze upon an imaginary future, he turned the question upside down, and began at the wrong end; he did not, perhaps, overrate the importance of education and publicity, but he committed a mistake in point of time. "We want artillerymen, and heavy ordnance," said the Greeks! the Colonel offered them types and printers. "The Turks and Egyptians are coming against us with a mighty power!"—"Model your institutions on those of the United States of America."—"We have neither money, ammunition, nor provisions."—"Decree the unlimited freedom of the press!" If inclined at first to suspect that he was playing off a mystification upon them, they were acute enough speedily to discover the purity of his enthusiasm, and to humour his day-dreams. So entirely was he wedded to his doctrine, that he hoped in a few months his journals would enlighten the savage Albanians; that the shepherds and warriors of Roumelia would peruse the works of Bentham, and Constantinople be shaken by his paper battering-ram.

In fine, while we give the colonel full credit for honesty, benevolence, frankness, and firmness of principle, we must come to the conclusion, that he visited Greece ten years too soon. As for Mavrocordato, his policy never varied: his ultimate scope was, in furthering the independence and civilisation of his countrymen, to hold

the helm of government; his minor care, at that particular juncture, to get rid of the Souliotes, and retain a naval force in the gulf. It was expedient for him to conciliate the good-will of the Philhellenes, whose cash might relieve his present embarrassments, while, by gaining their confidence, and becoming the centre round which they moved, his popularity would be much enhanced; hence his solicitude to draw foreigners to Messalonghi.

The committee in London having determined to consecrate their succours to the formation of an artillery corps, their agent, Stanhope, of course applied himself to that task; he was accompanied by two or three German officers, and had come under an engagement with the continental committees to take charge of the debris of Kefalas' expedition. A person was sent into the Morea to collect the surviving Germans; the colonel advanced a sum of L.100 to meet the expense of embodying the corps—Mavrocordato promised to subsist it for a year, and gave up a large walled building, called the Seraglio, for an arsenal and laboratory. In return, he obtained from Stanhope a loan of 5000 piastres, to pay the Spezziote squadron, upon pledging his honour that seven vessels should remain for two months; the contract was signed on the 21st of December, and on the 18th of January the Spezziotes disappeared, leaving the Turks to blockade Messalonghi by sea! In setting in motion his darling idol, the press, the colonel encountered difficulties which seem to have soured his temper; Mavrocordato did not object to the establishment of a newspaper, but he feared indiscretion, and desired to have a control over it. This precaution Stanhope vehemently combated, and after warm discussion carried the day; on the 12th of January, came out the first number of the Greek Chronicle, edited by Dr Meyer, a Swiss, and a hot-headed republican.

Another paper (the Greek Telegraph) saw the light shortly after, and soon died a natural death; for being written in English, French, and Italian, few natives could read it, and its contents were too dull to interest foreigners.

Lord Byron's arrival gave a new impulse to every thing; besides disbursing his promised loan of L.4000, he took into his service 500 Souliotes, and liberally subscribed to the artillery, the press, schools, and hospitals. At the same time he corresponded with leading men of all parties, reprobating their disgraceful dissensions, and exhorting them to concur in forming a strong national government; his letters were pithy, full of good sense, and written in a most conciliatory tone. Being desirous also to soften down the brutal character of the war, he seized every occasion to ransom Turkish prisoners, sending them to Yussuf Pasha, who thanked him for his kindness, but never thought of imitating it.

On the 15th, a shattered remnant of Kefalas' Germans came from the Morea, so demoralized by ill health and privations, that out of twenty-six (their whole number) only about half-a-dozen could be made available; it was therefore resolved to complete the corps to a complement of fifty men, by enlisting young Greeks.

On the 27th, accounts being received that Parry, with the stores of the English committee, was waiting for orders at Ithaca, directions were transmitted to him to proceed to Dragomestri. The committee has been rudely attacked for the method it adopted of succouring Greece; however, the blame (if blame there be) does not rest with that body, since it acted on the advice of persons who had been in the country and witnessed the struggle; and it is yet to be shown, that it could have spent its funds in a more judicious way,

than in forwarding light artillery, ammunition, and military artificers, such being generally reputed indispensable appendages to a belligerent force, and being exactly the things Greece did not possess.

Parry, to whom the articles were confided, had been a clerk in the civil department of the ordnance at Woolwich, was a clever mechanic, and perfectly understood the making of gunpowder, casting of cannon, &c., but he was garrulous, blustering, and rather addicted to intemperance. The stores consisted of one howitzer, and eleven three-pounders, all brass mountain guns, with carriages, limbers, and two forge-carts ; 6000 lbs. weight of excellent powder, 4000 flannel cartridges, 4000 round shot ; a blast furnace, with moulds for casting shot and shells ; a quantity of saltpetre, sulphur, iron, rosin, match, portfires, tools, and instruments ; in short, all that was required for a brigade of artillery, and a small laboratory : the personnel was composed of a firemaster, fireman, clerk, six workmen in wood and metal, seven English and German volunteers, and two Greeks. They sailed from Gravesend (November the 10th) in a brig, partly laden with government stores for Malta and Corfu, and, after a good deal of detention at those two places, entered the haven of Dragomestri on the 29th of January. The articles were immediately unshipped, and conveyed in small vessels to Messalonghi, an operation which took up a week, and four days more were consumed in transporting them from the waterside to the seraglio. By the 12th of February, every thing being safely housed, the workmen commenced their labours, and there seemed a prospect of rendering the artillery brigade effective.

This delighted Byron, who, full of warlike ardour, and eager to signalize himself in the field, was bent upon carrying the fortress of Lepanto, a stronghold so ill planned and so situated as to be scarcely capable of

offering resistance to a regular attack, but able to bid defiance to the whole power of Greece. Nevertheless there was a chance of taking it through the disaffection of the troops within, mostly Arnauts, and in a state of mutiny, not having been paid for many months. Their chiefs negotiated with the authorities of Messalonghi, and agreed to resign the place to Lord Byron, if he would give them a sum of money, and liquidate the soldiers' arrears. The treaty, when far advanced, was broken off, because it was impossible to observe the requisite secrecy; and Yussuf Pasha getting information, decoyed the principal officers to the castle of the Morea, and introduced into the fortress a body of Ottoman Turks.

Just as Byron flattered himself with hopes of adding military renown to his literary reputation, he became exposed to a series of annoyances of the most harassing description. His first source of disquietude arose from the bad conduct of the Souliotes, who, although only 500 strong, exacted from the town 1200 rations, and behaved with a degree of arrogance that led to affrays between them and the citizens. Displeased at being turned out of the seraglio, originally their quarters, to make room for the artillery, wrought upon by emissaries of Colocotroni, split into five or six pharas or clans, headed by the aristocratical families of Bozzaris, Drako, Tzavella, &c., they did nothing but murmur, and raise pretensions. Finding that though he might pay, he could not command them, Byron cancelled his previous agreement with the Souliotes, and began to raise a new corps of 600 men, without distinction of tribe. He strove to conceal his vexation, but the circumstance preyed so sorely on his mind, that on the 15th he was attacked by an epileptic fit, from the effect of which he never entirely recovered. Yet he lost none of his spirit, and, following up every object he deemed worthy

of his care, on the very day after this shock, sent to Prevesa twenty-two Mohammedans, who had been captives since the beginning of the revolution. In the night of the 16th a Turkish brig-of-war, mounting twenty-two guns, grounded on the shallows within about seven miles of Messalonghi, and it was thought she might be captured by bringing two pieces of cannon to bear upon her from a point of land, and then boarding in boats. However, before the necessary preparations were finished, two other brigs of the enemy came from Patrass, and being unable to drag her into deeper water, took out her crew and stores, and set fire to her on the 18th, when she was totally consumed. This was the second vessel their squadron in the gulf lost by accident, or rather carelessness, for nearly at the same period one of their brigs blew up in the roadstead of Patrass, and all on board save six persons perished. On the 19th a lamentable event occurred; a Souliote noted for his bravery came to the seraglio with a young son of Mark Bozzaris, and having no written permission to enter, was stopped by the sentry at the gate. He persisted in going in, and the officer on guard (Lieutenant Sass, a Swede) ordering him to be arrested, a quarrel ensued, and the Souliote, having received a blow, killed Sass on the spot. In an instant alarm pervaded the town; the Souliotes ran to arms, threatening to storm the seraglio, and even Byron's house, if their countryman, who had been apprehended, was not set at liberty: the Franks and artillerymen stood on their defence, and both at the arsenal and his lordship's residence, cannon were planted against the doorways. The riot being at length appeased, the Souliote was released, and Sass interred with the customary honours; but Byron declared he would return to the Ionian islands, if those fierce mountaineers did not leave Messalonghi. They consented to do so on getting 3000 dol-

lars, and his lordship having lent that sum to the primates, a part of them marched into the interior under Costa Bozzaris, but soon came back to Anatoliko. Disgusted with the place, and frightened at the recent tumult, the six English artificers refused to stay, and were dismissed, having cost the committee L.340 for fourteen days' work!

On the 21st, Colonel Stanhope set out on a journey to Attica and the Morea; he had latterly had some slight differences of opinion with Byron, and he took serious offence at Mavrocordato, who, as he began to perceive, was, in common with most of the talent and respectability of Greece, desirous of establishing a limited monarchy, and inviting a foreign prince. Although, on all other occasions, the colonel was endowed with exemplary mildness, and the patience of a stoic, yet impugning his sublime political theories was wounding Achilles on the heel; his reveries not finding favour in Western Greece, he went elsewhere to seek for proselytes.

The month of March passed more quietly at Messalonghi. Several of the Antarts, Colocotroni, Perouka, Sisini, &c., seeing they could not, by their intrigues with the Souliotes, drive away Lord Byron, adopted the plan of courting him by complimentary letters and messages, offering to submit their disputes with the government to his mediation. The executive and legislative bodies proposed to him to assume the office of commander-in-chief in continental Greece, and from Athens came epistles written by Colonel Stanhope, Mr Trelawny, and Odysseus, inviting him to attend a congress about to be held at Salona. Having collected around himself almost all the foreigners in Greece from every nation in Europe, and recruited young Roumeliotes, he was much occupied in drilling his corps, and in meditating with Mavrocordato projects for the ensu-

ing campaign, and for repairing the fortifications of Messalonghi. His health still declined, and we cannot be surprised at it, considering what he had suffered, and was daily suffering, from the deceptions practised upon him, and importunate solicitations for money. Parry talked a great deal, and did little; Mavrocordato promised every thing, and performed nothing; and the primates, who had engaged to furnish 1500 dollars towards the expense of fortifying, could not produce a farthing, and, in lieu thereof, presented him with the freedom of the town. The weather was cold and damp, and heavy rains converting the streets and the country into a bed of mire, he could not take exercise in the open air. In addition to this, the Germans, and sometimes the English, quarrelled among themselves, and it was one of his tasks to prevent them from fighting duels.

On the 3d of April fresh alarms prevailed, and treason was plainly at work. Karaiskaki, having either sold himself to the Turks, or conspired with the faction of Colocotroni, sent a party of soldiers in boats to seize the islet of Vassiladi, while another detachment arrested two of the municipality, and the hostile ships of war were seen under sail approaching the northern shore. Whatever may have been the motive of this outrage, it turned to the shame of its author: the wind opposed the advance of the Turks, and Karaiskaki, unable to provision his troops at Vassiladi, evacuated on the 5th both it and Messalonghi, and on the arrival at Anatoliko of Tzongas, Makrys and Bozzaris fled to Agrafa. In this emergency Byron kept his corps under arms without interfering in the dispute; but the influx of 2000 soldiers, and the necessity of feeding them, brought upon him new demands for money. Teased to death, he now became anxious to quit Messalonghi; indeed for three weeks he had been intending

to go to Salona, in compliance with the requests of Odysseus and Stanhope. Mavrocordato received a similar invitation, which he was nowise disposed to accept, because he penetrated the secret designs of Odysseus, the intrigues of Negris, was aware of the former's treacherous character, and suspected danger to his own person: neither could he bear the thoughts of parting with Byron, who was so useful an instrument in his hands. He therefore outwardly acquiesced in the proposed journey, but always discovered one pretext or other for delay: sometimes the roads were impassable, sometimes the river Evenus could not be forded, and latterly Karaiskaki's conspiracy afforded a sufficient reason for staying where they were.

On the 9th, Lord Byron went out to ride in the vicinity of the town, was overtaken by a heavy shower, and when in a state of perspiration, returned to his house, as he was wont to do, in a boat. Two hours after he complained of fever, shuddering, and rheumatic pains; his physicians prescribed bleeding, but he was averse to the lancet, and they yielded too easily to his prejudices, not conceiving the malady to be dangerous: he even once more rode on horseback, and transacted business as usual. The disease, however, gaining ground, his friends trembled, and an express was sent off to Zante for Staff-Surgeon Thomas, whose skill and experience might perhaps have saved him, if he had been called in in time; but it was too late, for, on the point of embarking, Dr Thomas heard of his death. Delirium came on, then stupor, and at six o'clock in the afternoon of Easter Monday (April the 19th), at the instant of an awful thunder-storm, Byron expired!

This melancholy event turned the festivity and rejoicings peculiar to the season into sorrow and mourning: all classes, from the highest to the lowest, la-

mented the loss of a benefactor, and testified equal anxiety to do honour to his memory. At daylight of the 20th, thirty-seven minute guns, corresponding to the age of the deceased, were fired from the principal battery; the public offices and shops were shut for three days, amusements suspended, and a general mourning observed for twenty-one days. Volleys of musketry, discharged in sign of gladness by the Turks of Patrass, ought to be reckoned a further tribute to Byron's manes. His body having been embalmed, the ceremony of his obsequies took place on the 22d; 1000 troops, with reversed arms, lined the streets through which the procession passed; the officers of his brigade and the Greek generals relieved each other in carrying the bier; before it marched Porphiry, Archbishop of Arta, at the head of his clergy, and behind walked Mavrocordato with the civil authorities, the private friends, and household of the departed nobleman: his horse was led covered with a black housing, and two companies of infantry, one of his own corps, the other of Souliotes under Zervas, brought up the rear. His coffin was laid by the side of the graves of Mark Bozzaris, Kyriakouli, and Count Normann, and a crown of laurel, his sword, helmet, and escutcheon placed upon it; the archbishop and priests chanted the prayers for the dead, while the assistants were bathed in tears, cannon and musketry pealed at intervals, and the ceremony concluded with an eloquent funeral oration, pronounced by Trikoupi. Similar tokens of grief were repeated in every part of Greece, and his name will never be forgotten there. As he had expressed a wish to be buried in the tomb of his ancestors, the body was conveyed to Zante, and thence to England, his heart being interred at Messalonghi.

It is to be regretted that he did not remain six months longer either in Italy or Cefalonia, instead of

entering upon the scene at a period of civil war, penury, and anarchy, when the Executive was living on shipboard, and none would second his views. If his crusade had been postponed to the month of June, he would have found a stronger government, a more united nation, and opportunity for active exertion. The admirers of his genius must lament, that the noble poet and Philhellene did not die in the field with his sword in his hand, rather than pine away upon a couch amidst the mud and misery of Messalonghi. Had his life been prolonged but fifteen days, great advantages would have accrued, since, on the 24th, Blaquiere arrived from England with the first instalment of the loan, which in that case would undoubtedly have been paid over, instead of being locked up for three months at Zante.

Byron's death put an immediate stop to the measures of organization and defence that had been going on under his direction, and at his sole expense: as there were no means of prosecuting the service, the foreign volunteers, and the persons employed by the committee, dispersed. Parry went to Zante, quarrelled with Colonel Stanhope, and returned to England, having received L.400, for which he resided in Greece about 100 days. No one felt the blow more severely than Mavrocordato, who was replunged into that sea of troubles from which his lordship's money and friendship had partially extricated him. The Souliotes at Anatoliko became desperate, when their hopes of either being again taken into Byron's service, or paid out of the first proceeds of the loan, were frustrated by his demise and its detention. We must not be too hasty in condemning them, when we reflect, that they had been allured into Western Greece under a promise of plentiful quarters and remuneration, and now, after spilling their blood freely, they and their families were

left without bread: a corps of high-spirited soldiers was not likely to brook such treatment. In his distress Mavrocordato wrote pathetic letters to all who might, he thought, assist him, exaggerating the effects of their exasperation, and hinting the probability of his own assassination, and the sack of Messalonghi and Anatoliko. Some small supplies of specie, advanced by Lord Charles Murray and Mr Blaquiere, pacified them from time to time, and the latter gentleman having finally succeeded in cashing bills at Zante for 10,000 dollars, and sent that sum to Mavrocordato, enabled him to get rid of them altogether. A part passed over to Elis, under Costa Bozzaris, and Tzavella marched with the rest to Salona.

The news from Albania was of a tranquillizing nature: the Pasha of Scodra declined taking the field, alleging the necessity of watching the Montenegrines; the Turks had very few troops at Arta and Prevesa, and Omer Vriones did not stir from Berat, being engaged in a struggle with his Epirote competitors.

In the absence of a Mohammedan enemy, the Greek captains of Etolia and Acarnania were fighting with each other: Karaiskaki levied open war, allied himself with Soultza Geortsha, the Arnaut commandant of Trikkala, and endeavoured to secure possession of Agrafa and Aspropotamos. Rhangos and Stournari beat him, retook 30,000 head of cattle he had plundered from the people, and obliged him to repair to the Morea, where he made his peace with government: but the unhappy districts, the subjects of contention, gained nothing by the change, for Rhangos, a worse ruffian than his predecessor, completed the ruin of Agrafa.

SECTION IV.

In Eastern Greece such disorders were obviated by the rigour of Odysseus, who maintained a tolerably strict police, and caused his orders to be obeyed: Ghouras vigilantly kept for him the Acropolis of Athens, and the versatile Theodore Negris, from being his sworn foe, was now become his bosom friend and adviser. His expedition to Eubœa, although undertaken with what for that country and mode of warfare might be termed a respectable force, did not lead to the results he anticipated. How, indeed, was it possible for the insurgents to succeed in any offensive operation without funds or discipline, and when every soldier was at liberty to go away as soon as he was tired of the camp? His scheme of blowing up the walls of Carysto having failed, he trusted to the effects of famine; but the Turks, though somewhat straitened, knew that spring would bring a fleet to their relief, and even during the winter they were occasionally supplied by Austrian and Ionian vessels, owing to the laziness and negligence of the Psarrian blockading squadron, which, instead of cruising about, lay almost constantly in the port of Olivari.

Meanwhile, the army was melting away, and certain considerations connected with the state of parties in the Morea, and the proceedings of the Philhellenes at Messalonghi, induced the general to return to Athens. Both he and Negris bore a deadly hatred to Mavrocordato, and were inclined to the military faction, but did not think proper to declare themselves until they saw which way fortune should turn. Besides this prudential motive, a coolness existed between Colocotroni and Odysseus, because the former was in the interest of Russia, and proposed appointing Count Capodistria

ruler of Greece, while the latter determined to govern independently, and, had he been obliged to choose a master, would have preferred a Turk; a sentiment entertained by most of the Roumeliote captains.

When the prospect of a loan, Byron's crusade, and the arrival of agents and stores sent by the London Committee, formed universal topics of discourse, Odysseus desired to profit as well as others, and therefore showed marked politeness to Englishmen, especially Mr Trelawny, who was known to be his lordship's friend, and whose personal strength and intrepidity rendered him a favourite with the warriors he was living amongst. It is quite astonishing with how much skill a barbarian chief like the son of Androuzzos saw through the characters of the Franks he had to deal with, and how artfully he won them over in spite of the disadvantage he laboured under of receiving them fresh from the society of Mavrocordato, who took care to prejudice their minds against him: Ali Pasha could not have played his part better than did his pupil. Stanhope came to Athens on the 4th of March, and next day was asked to attend a public meeting convened for the purpose of electing judges; Odysseus presided, and after an animated, and apparently free debate, the comedy closed with a vote by ballot, and universal suffrage. The colonel's eyes were immediately opened, and he discovered that the governor of Attica had a strong mind and a good heart, was a partisan of constitutional liberty, and opposed to the foreign king faction. Odysseus did not let the impression subside, but kept it up by pageants of popular assemblies, where taxes were voted or rejected: his conversation was of newspapers and schools, the rights of the people, and a museum of antiquities.* So entirely did he sur-

* One morning, while the colonel and Odysseus were sitting together in the latter's quarters, Dr Sophianopoulo entered, handed the



round Stanhope with his own creatures, that the latter seems to have remained in total ignorance of the cruel executions and tortures this philanthropist was in the habit of inflicting on bare suspicion.

When things had gone on thus smoothly for a few days, Odysseus expressed himself most anxious to bring about a congress of deputies from continental Greece, at Salona, and to see Lord Byron there; he likewise intimated a desire to procure a fire-master with some guns and stores from the laboratory at Messalonghi. Stanhope penned letters backing his request, and despatched Messrs Finlay and Humphries, with a pressing invitation to his lordship and Mavrocordato to repair to Salona. It is not probable Odysseus and Negris either wished or expected Mavrocordato's presence; him they could not deceive, and they would scarcely have ventured to murder him, when in company with Byron; the aim of their manœuvres was to deprive him of Philhellenic support. The plot wearing a prosperous appearance, Odysseus set off to inspect his troops in Eubœa, and the colonel left Athens, April the 6th, for Peloponnesus, in order to confer with the executive and legislative bodies, and recover a printing-press detained by Pano Colocotroni at Nauplia; declaring his intention to promote a national assembly, the object the Antarts had all along been driving at. The Executive of course blamed the plan of a congress in Roumelia, as a device of Negris, and complained that Stanhope was coalescing with the worst enemies of law and order; he, however, turned a deaf ear to their remonstrances, and proceeded to Salona. He was disappointed at not finding there Byron, who was then on his death-bed; but he met, on the 17th, Odysseus, Negris, Ghouras, and all the captains and primates of

general a report on the state of the hospital, and answered various queries regarding it. No hospital existed!

Attica, Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris; the chieftains of Western Greece declining to attend in a body, deputed three or four of their number, adherents of Mavrocordato, rather to watch than assist.

Negris, in an opening speech, expatiated upon the necessity of convoking a general assembly; and Ghouras's secretary, Dr Sophianopoulo, moved that the forces of Eastern Greece should be ordered to march to Argos. Had Stanhope assented, Odysseus would have been arbitrator of Hellas, which he and Colocotroni might then have partitioned; but the colonel's visit to the seat of government, and the warnings of the Executive, having rendered him somewhat more cautious, he was not to be duped, and protested against any such unconstitutional measure. Intelligence just then reached Salona, that he was named one of the commissioners for disposing of the loan, and, therefore, it being more than ever of importance not to forfeit his good opinion, Odysseus and his friends gave up their design, and recognised the authorities at Argos as the only real and legitimate government. The other resolutions of this congress were insignificant, and it broke up on the 7th of May, when a copy of its acts, signed by thirty-one deputies, was officially transmitted to the Senate.

Stanhope went directly to Zante, whither he was summoned by Blaquiere's letters, and where a communication was awaiting him from the Horse Guards, commanding him to return to England forthwith. The last thing he did in Greece, as agent for the committee, was compelling Mavrocordato to deliver up to Mr Trelawny four brass fieldpieces and a portion of stores for the use of General Odysseus, who, instead of employing them against the Turks, deposited them in his cave on Mount Parnassus.

While the military chiefs of Eastern Hellas were

throwing away their time in vain debates at Salona, they lost all footing in Eubœa, an Ottoman division of twenty-four vessels having touched at Negropont, May the 6th, and landed 2000 Janissaries, with supplies for the fortresses: the Psarrian squadron hurried away without giving notice to the land-forces, and these were fortunate in being able to effect their retreat, by crossing in boats to the mainland. Baffled in his project of erecting the island into a principality for himself, and perceiving that the constitutionalists were triumphing, Odysseus resolved to go to the Morea, and, by offering himself as an umpire, to neutralize their victory as much as possible, and, as we have seen, his arrival at Argos coincided with the defeat of Colocotroni's troops. Condouriotti treated him with civility, and various plans were suggested for bringing about a coalition, but mutual distrust prevented any satisfactory arrangement. By pursuing too long a deceptive system, Odysseus outwitted himself; no Greek believed in the sincerity of his patriotism, no party confided in him, and his cruel and vindictive disposition had raised up a host of enemies, who would be content with nothing short of his absolute destruction. During his sojourn in Peloponnesus, they plotted against him at Athens, and succeeded in shaking the fidelity of his satellite Ghouras. Born a peasant in the territory of Salona, and a soldier by inclination, Ghouras was enrolled in the band of Panourias, when Ali Pasha employed Odysseus to suppress it. Struck with his strength and courage, the latter kept him about his own person as his pipe-bearer and one of his body-guards, and made use of his arm to assassinate an Athenian Turk obnoxious to the Satrap of Yannina. For this murder he was arrested, but quickly liberated again, Odysseus, who then commanded at Thebes, having seized several Mussulmans as hostages for his safety. Tall and athletic, with a

countenance resembling that of a lion, and brave as his sword, he continued warmly attached to his patron, until such ideas of honour as could find place in a mind like his were unsettled by too much prosperity, and the insinuations of his secretary Sophianopoulo, who, bribed by the government, pointed out that the Athenians were tired of Odysseus, and that it would be easy to supplant him. He, however, obeyed a summons from his general to join him at Nauplia, but it was the last act of his obedience, and he returned to Athens, fully determined to retain the Acropolis for himself. Odysseus remained until he was shot at, while sitting at a window, and then went back to Roumelia, evidently a fallen man.

In the spring of 1824, the affairs of the Cretan insurgents suffered a total wreck. The Turks and Egyptians, reckoned at 20,000 combatants, left their winter-quarters in February, and fell upon the western provinces, while Tombazi lay sick at Vaffe; and the Sfakiotes carried their malignity to such a pitch, as to open a separate negotiation, chiefly with a view of gratifying their revenge, and punishing the contumacy of the Katomerites, who would not be their humble subjects. Many of the best soldiers of those districts which had previously laid down their arms rallied round the Harmost, but he despaired of making an efficient stand; and having intercepted a correspondence in which the Sfakiotes engaged to betray him into the hands of the Egyptian general, he hastily got on board his schooner at Loutro, to secure himself from their treachery. The hostile army, meeting no resistance worth speaking of, and reinforced on its march by the garrisons of Canea and Rhetymo, in a few days overran all the west of the island, with the exception of some snowy peaks of Ida, where half the Christian population took refuge. Stripped of their little fragments of

to go to Salona, in compliance with the requests of Odysseus and Stanhope. Mavrocordato received a similar invitation, which he was nowise disposed to accept, because he penetrated the secret designs of Odysseus, the intrigues of Negris, was aware of the former's treacherous character, and suspected danger to his own person: neither could he bear the thoughts of parting with Byron, who was so useful an instrument in his hands. He therefore outwardly acquiesced in the proposed journey, but always discovered one pretext or other for delay: sometimes the roads were impassable, sometimes the river Evenus could not be forded, and latterly Karaiskaki's conspiracy afforded a sufficient reason for staying where they were.

On the 9th, Lord Byron went out to ride in the vicinity of the town, was overtaken by a heavy shower, and when in a state of perspiration, returned to his house, as he was wont to do, in a boat. Two hours after he complained of fever, shuddering, and rheumatic pains; his physicians prescribed bleeding, but he was averse to the lancet, and they yielded too easily to his prejudices, not conceiving the malady to be dangerous: he even once more rode on horseback, and transacted business as usual. The disease, however, gaining ground, his friends trembled, and an express was sent off to Zante for Staff-Surgeon Thomas, whose skill and experience might perhaps have saved him, if he had been called in in time; but it was too late, for, on the point of embarking, Dr Thomas heard of his death. Delirium came on, then stupor, and at six o'clock in the afternoon of Easter Monday (April the 19th), at the instant of an awful thunder-storm, Byron expired!

This melancholy event turned the festivity and rejoicings peculiar to the season into sorrow and mourning: all classes, from the highest to the lowest, la-

property by their faithless allies, worn down by cold and hunger, tracked across the mountains like wild beasts by the enemy, death or slavery was the lot of thousands. On the 3d of April, the Hydriotes, despatching several of their largest vessels to the shores of Crete, saved a considerable number of fugitives, by transporting them to Monemvasia; others escaped in Ionian boats to Cerigo or Kassos, and many protracted their existence by concealment in caverns known only to themselves.

Returning from Monemvasia, the Greeks discovered that the arrival of an Egyptian fleet at Suda precluded further emigration, and on the 24th they made sail for Hydra; with them came Tombazi in his schooner, after blowing up the powder magazine at Loutro, and publishing a valedictory address to the Cretans.

When opposition had nearly ceased, Hussein Bey, Mehemet Ali's lieutenant, granted an amnesty, remitted taxes, and adopted measures to tranquillize the people; and he prevailed upon the Austrian consul to issue an extraordinary circular in confirmation of his promises. It is consolatory to know, that the Mohammedans meted out retributive justice to the Sfakiote captains who had betrayed their country, by enticing them to Canea, and confining them in a dungeon. In a subsequent attempt at evasion, the infamous Rousso broke his leg, and his groans having attracted the guard, was reconducted to prison, where he languished for years.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK IV.—CHAPTER I.

(No. I.)—*Proclamation of Tombazi on leaving Crete.*

CRETANS, MY BRETHREN,

Your sluggishness in war, your dissensions, and your calamities, have brought your country to the very brink of subjection by the enemy. Perceiving the great risk, and seeing that my remaining here, without an army, or the necessary means for forming one, is of no advantage; influenced by general opinion, I depart for the seat of government to make a report on the state of the island; hasten the despatching of a military force, and expedite measures tending to the honour of the Grecian name.

Brethren!—Receive now the sincere and patriotic counsels of a citizen, who has had the grief to witness your misfortunes.

For the love of your faith and country, keep your arms in your hands for some time longer, and I have fair hopes Greece will not desert you. Reflect that the enemy has openly declared his intentions; he now wishes to take your weapons, that he may with safety oppress you; but I am confident that such of you as have gained your arms by conquest, will not resign them without your blood!

Lay aside then your dissensions! Cast your eyes around, and see the condition to which they have reduced you! Put on brotherly love, and warlike ardour! Your efforts will be crowned with glory, and your country, wives, and children will be freed from the sword and slavery.

Loutro, $\frac{6}{18}$*th of April*, 1824.

(Signed) The Harmost of Crete, MANOLIS TOMBAZI.

(No. II.)—*Circular of the Austrian Vice-consul at Canea.*

I, the undersigned, L. M. A. Dorcalis, Imperial, Royal, Apostolic Vice-Consul in Crete, residing at Cydonia, proclaim and testify, that

his Excellency Hussein Bey, commander of the Ottoman forces in the island, charged me, on the 4th current, to inform the Greek chiefs, that he feels inclined to grant a general amnesty for all past offences to those Greeks who will resume possession of their houses and property, which his Excellency guarantees to them, having received instructions to that effect from his Highness the Pasha of Egypt. Immediately on giving up their arms, the said Greeks will enjoy all the rights of his Highness's faithful subjects. But if by chance (may it not happen) the Greeks should be deceived by the Turks, I, the undersigned, will publish abroad the deceit, and take the proper steps in my official capacity.

Given on the Strand of Suda, this 10th of April (1824).

(Signed) DORCALIS, Austrian Vice-Consul.

And sealed with the consular arms.

CHAP. II.

Naval campaign of 1824, and destruction of Psarra and Kassos.

SECTION I.

FROM the beginning of this year, the arsenal of Constantinople resounded with the din of preparation, and the Sultan went thither several times in person, to animate the diligence of his shipwrights and workmen. Firmans were sent into all the provinces, ordering great levies of troops, foreign merchantmen taken up as transports, and a hot press carried on in the streets and taverns of the capital, to procure men for the navy. About the 20th of April, Khosref Pasha quitted the Golden Horn with thirty ships of war, and eighty companies of foot soldiers; and on the 26th, the magistrates of Hydra received a despatch from the Eparch of Syra, informing them that fifty sail of Turks were anchored in the Dardanelles, including one line-of-battle ship, bearing the Capitan Pasha's flag, and fifteen frigates and corvettes.

In Egypt, the bustle and activity displayed were yet more remarkable after Nejib Effendi's arrival at Cairo, and the interchange of valuable presents betwixt the Sultan and the Viceroy. The latter was gratified by official reports of the progress of his arms in Crete, and intelligence from Arabia, that a corps of 4000 Egyptian conscripts had defeated an army of 20,000 Wechabys. However, a misfortune came to damp his joy; a violent conflagration, which, on the 22d of March, happened in the citadel of Cairo. The flames

first breaking out in a fabric of cartridges, and spreading to storehouses containing powder, all the buildings of the fortress were shaken, and the arsenal entirely destroyed; upwards of 4000 men perished, and amongst them many officers of Mehemet Ali's household, and almost the whole of his military artificers. Had the fire gained the principal magazine, the city of Cairo would have been laid in ruins, but it was saved by the intrepidity of a newly raised battalion of Arab infantry. The loss sustained by the Viceroy was immense, being esteemed at 10,000,000 of Spanish dollars, or L.2,000,000 sterling. Most people supposed that he would make this calamity a pretext for eluding the Sultan's demands, but it soon appeared that he was disposed to co-operate with hearty good-will, and that his grand expedition would certainly take place.

Alexandria, hitherto a peaceful commercial port, was transformed into a vast naval dockyard; the troops intended for embarkation went into cantonments at a convenient distance, and for three months the Pasha prohibited the shipment of goods, in order to oblige the masters of European vessels to accept the enormous freight he offered for their services as transports. Although the Egyptian fleet alone seemed more than sufficient to cope with the Greeks, the Porte agreed to lend the Viceroy a division of its marine, and in consequence the squadron which had wintered at Patrass and Lepanto, sailed in May to Alexandria.

While busied in preparing for an invasion of the Morea, Mehemet Ali did not neglect the affairs of Candia, and he employed the intermediate time that necessarily elapsed ere his expedition was ready, in executing an enterprise which confirmed its subjugation, by depriving the insurgent bands, yet existing among the mountains, of any extraneous support. The Isle of Kassos had for the last three years given the Turks

much annoyance, and its vicinity, as well as the audacity of its inhabitants, tended to keep alive the embers of revolt in Crete, while its strength deterred attack. The coast is extremely steep and nearly inaccessible, except at one place which was carefully fortified, and the Kassiotes, amounting to about 12,000 souls, could put 3000 men under arms. Possessing fifteen ships, brigs, and schooners, they, during 1821 and 1822, frequently blockaded Canea and Rhetymo, until Tombazi having transferred that duty to the Hydriotes, they, from motives of economy, laid up their larger vessels, save one corvette and three brigs, and made use of mistiks in their continual descents upon Crete, Cos, and Rhodes, whence they brought off and sold publicly in their market, women and cattle. As their barren isle produced little or nothing, they proved unpleasant neighbours to the Greeks of Carpathos, or Scarpanto, which, being blessed with comparative fertility, was compelled to minister to their wants.

Resolved to attempt the conquest of Kassos, the Pasha equipped and despatched from Alexandria (May the 4th) two frigates, two corvettes, and five brigs, to reinforce the armament he had at Suda under Ismael Gibraltar. On the 2d of June, an Egyptian squadron, of seventeen ships of war, presented itself before the isle, and after an ineffectual cannonade, and demonstrations of landing, disappeared again. This was probably meant as a reconnoisance, for, on the 18th, Hussein Bey and Ismael Gibraltar approached Kassos with forty-five sail, and 3 or 4000 troops. They opened upon the town a heavy fire of artillery, which was returned from the batteries, and lasted throughout that and the following day, the Egyptians throwing on the 19th above 4000 round shot. At night, Hussein Bey ordered eighteen launches, full of troops, to go beyond the town, and divert the attention of the Kassiotes by discharges

of musketry, while twenty-four great boats, carrying 1500 Albanians, and guided by a native of the place, went to the villa of San Marino, at the N.W. point of the isle, and effected a landing. Having thus put the Greeks between two fires, the Bey summoned them to surrender, and upon their demanding time for consideration (a sign that their courage was ebbing), pressed for a speedy answer. A panic spreading amongst them, they decided on submission, and first the people of the villages, then those of the town, laid down their arms; a patriot, named Captain Marco, alone stood out at the head of some men from the western side, engaged a large body of Turks, and killed thirty of them. He was at length overpowered, taken prisoner, and brought before the Bey, with his hands tied behind his back, when by a sudden effort he loosened his bonds, snatched a knife, slew three of his guards, and was then cut in pieces.

It is said that 500 Kassiotes fell in action, and that the slaughter was less than it otherwise would have been, because the foremost of the Egyptian troops were Christian Albanians, who interposed to prevent any massacre of the vanquished; they could not, however, hinder their Mussulman comrades from enslaving 2000 women and boys, who were sent to Crete and Egypt. After the lapse of twenty-four hours, Hussein Bey forbade his soldiers to take more slaves, under pain of death. Several of the primates he decapitated, but showed lenity to the lower classes, and invited the Kassiote seamen to serve on board his ships with a monthly pay of fifty piastres, an offer which many of them accepted. The booty that fell into the enemy's hands was very great, consisting of fifteen large, and forty smaller vessels, twenty cargoes of ship timber, and abundance of nails, cordage, flax, rice, silk, &c.; three new vessels, just launched, and moored outside, were

burned. Leaving an Aga to govern the island, Hussein Bey set sail for Alexandria, with four frigates, six corvettes, and ten brigs; carrying with him twenty-six Kassiote prizes, fifteen primates, and the families of the principal inhabitants.

On the 21st, information reached Hydra of the imminent danger of Kassos, and as hopes were entertained that the people would retire to the hills, and make a better resistance than they did, all the shipping ready for sea was directed to proceed thither. On the 29th and 30th, eleven Hydriote men-of-war, with two fireships, commanded by Vice-admiral Sakhtouri, and fourteen sail of Spezziotes, weighed anchor; on the 2d of July, they were off Santorin, and next evening the Hydriotes arrived at Kassos, whence the Turkish Aga fled in a galliot to Scarpanto. Sakhtouri and his captains landed, conferred with the natives, and proposed to transport them to the Morea; but after a day's deliberation they replied, that they chose to remain in their country, rather than become miserable wanderers like the Sciotes. The Vice-admiral then departing with the thirteen Hydriotes, and four Spezziotes, which had joined him, his squadron was dispersed by a strong wind betwixt Scarpanto and Nysira; on the 6th, he heard sinister rumours regarding Psarra, from a Russian merchantman, and on the 7th, off Santorin, he received letters from Hydra, recalling him without delay.

The Greeks had no leisure to brood over the loss of Kassos, the impression it produced being immediately effaced by a much more dreadful catastrophe. As nothing could be more derogatory to the honour of his empire, than the impunity with which the insurgents of Psarra and Samos devastated the Anatolian coast, Sultan Mahmoud gave the Capitan Pasha peremptory orders to destroy them, and granted him all the means,

in ships and troops, which it was possible to derive from the exercise of his despotic power, coupled with the fanaticism of his subjects. Obliged by his master's will to surmount his own constitutional timidity, the grand admiral applied himself to collecting such a force as might ensure the success of an enterprise, on whose issue his life and fortune depended.

Sailing from the Hellespont early in May, he, in passing, cannonaded the isle of Scopelos, and endeavoured to throw on shore a body of men, who were repulsed by the Olympians, under Kara Tasso: then entering the Thermaic Gulf, and taking on board several thousand soldiers that waited for him near Salonika, he proceeded to Mitylene, and embarked the Asiatic levies appointed to meet him there.

Psarra is a small sterile and mountainous island, with a commodious roadstead to the south-east, in which quarter the town was built; the rest of the shore being in general so rocky, that boats can hardly approach it. In the interior, a few acres of ground had been at a vast expense converted into vineyards by the richer citizens, and about 150 fig-trees afforded the only shade that the Psarriotes could enjoy in their burning summer: there were four wells (three of them of brackish water), and each house had a cistern. The original population of 6000 souls was more than doubled by fugitives from Chios, Lesbos, Kydonia, &c.;* and as they kept in pay above 1000 Olympians, we may conjecture that the number of their fighting men did not fall short of 5000. They had long been looking for an attack, and every disposition was made for resisting it; the isle was covered with redoubts and batteries garnished with 200 pieces of cannon,

* In the beginning of the year 1824, the primates stated it to Mr Waddington at 26,000; probably 15,000 would have been nearer the truth.

telegraphs established on various points, and a numerous and beautiful flotilla of brigs, schooners, scampavias, and fire-ships, lay ready in their port:* confident in their own force, they expected the Capitan Pasha's visit with more impatience than apprehension.

Shrinking from the risk of failure, he tried two or three times to allure them by propositions of amnesty, and even sent the Archbishop of Mitylene to treat with them; but the Psarrians, aware they had offended too deeply to be forgiven, answered in terms of defiance. Nevertheless, their defensive arrangements were but half measures, since success rested solely on the doubtful chance of hindering the enemy from landing: once on shore, the Turks were sure to have the advantage of numbers, and of that impetuosity which belongs to assailants, rendered keener by the prospect of a great booty. Instead of a multiplicity of batteries, and small intrenched posts, the Psarrians ought to have erected one spacious citadel, large enough to contain their valuable property, magazines, and families, under the protection of a strong garrison of Macedonians and refugees; then to have manned their flotilla, and hovered round the Mohammedans, whom in all probability they would have frightened away with their fire-ships. If their ignorance of the art of war, or considerations of expense and labour, made this plan impracticable, it had been better to remove their families and goods elsewhere, and, like the old Athenians, trust entirely to their wooden walls: they did neither, but resolved to occupy with detached corps their circuit of coast. As the designs of the Porte were manifest, and Khosref Pasha had consumed two months in tedious preparation, it might be matter of astonishment, that the navies of Hydra and Spezzia were not at hand to op-

* Psarra was the only part of Greece where the invention of telegraphs was used.

pose his sailing from Lesbos, did we not advert to their dilatory conduct at Scio, Trikeri, and Kassos, where they only arrived in time to behold the triumph of the foe. The reproach addressed by Demosthenes to the people of Athens, was perfectly applicable to the modern Greeks: "Ye run about, wheresoever the enemy chooses to lead you, and, like unskilful boxers, can neither foresee nor guard against a blow, until ye feel that it is struck!" The seamen would never go on board without being paid in advance, and on the present occasion, the wealthy islanders, having counted upon the loan as a certain resource, were particularly reluctant to untie their purse-strings.

On the 1st of July, the Capitan Pasha quitted Mitylene, and at five o'clock of the following afternoon, his vast armada encompassed Psarra, and remained becalmed all night, with lanterns hoisted at the mast heads. It was composed of an eighty gun-ship, of a cut down two-decker, six frigates, ten corvettes, twenty brigs and schooners of war; a number of gun and mortar boats, built on purpose for this expedition, and many transports, in all eighty-two vessels; besides a crowd of galleys, feluccas, and other small craft, swelling the total amount to near 200 sail: the land forces were estimated at 14,000 Janissaries, Arnauts, and Anatolian volunteers.

The Psarrian primates, on descrying this immense host, called a final council of war, at which Canaris strongly urged the expediency of fighting upon the water; unfortunately his opinion was overruled, and the magistrates, not content with reducing their marine to a state of inaction, ordered the rudders to be unshipped, in compliance with the demand of the Roumeliote soldiers, afraid of being abandoned, as they ultimately were. At daybreak of the 3d, the Turkish fleet commenced a violent cannonade against the town, and the

principal batteries facing the sea, while, hidden by clouds of smoke, the transports, escorted by frigates, steered towards a little sandy cove at the north-west angle of the isle, and disembarked the troops unperceived and unresisted, the attention of the Greeks being fixed on the false attack at the port. Having stormed a redoubt defended by three guns and thirty men, the Moslems rushed forwards in mass, driving before them some weak parties of Roumeliotes and Psarrians, and at seven o'clock in the morning planted the Ottoman standard on the summit of the hills overlooking the town. At that view, a cry of horror rose among the timid refugees, and their terror soon communicated itself even to the bravest Psarrians, who saw that the fate of their country was decided. Men, women, and children, hurrying to the beach, jumped into boats, or plunged into the waves, where a multitude of them perished, many of their barks being intercepted or swamped. Nineteen brigs anchored at Antipsarra (a mile to the south-west of Psarra) cut their cables, and although several of them wanted rudders, escaped from the hostile ships, carrying away the primates, their families, a portion of the seamen, and such fugitives as they could pick up.* The Turks then landed from the fleet, while their troops penetrated into the town on the other side, took the batteries in rear, and cut down all that came in their way. Like Tripolizza and Scio, Psarra sank in flames and blood; but its closing scene was very different. Six hundred Macedonians threw themselves into the fortified convent of St Nicholas, defended by twenty-four pieces of cannon, and where they had placed their wives and children. After plundering and burning the town, the Mohammedans advanced against this post, and were

* The aunt of Canaris, a woman above fifty years of age, saved herself by swimming out two miles.

vigorously repulsed in successive assaults until night put an end to the combat. When day dawned on the 4th, the Capitan Pasha commanded the whole of his troops to renew the attack, which they maintained with incredible fury, in spite of a murderous discharge of grape-shot and musketry from the ramparts. At length the garrison, spent with wounds and fatigue, having lost two-thirds of its number, and hopeless of relief, determined to die, but not without glory and revenge. At four o'clock in the afternoon, a soldier, bearing a lighted match, was seen to leave the fort, and run towards the entrance of a great subterraneous powder magazine, situated outside—he fell, pierced with balls, and five of his companions, following his example, one after the other shared his fate. Unable to execute their first project, the Greeks resolved to inflame the powder they had within the monastery. They ceased their fire, and the Turks darting on, sword in hand, scaled the walls on every side; when suddenly the Hellenic flag was lowered, a white banner, inscribed with the words "Liberty or Death," waved in the air, a single gun gave the signal, and a tremendous explosion shaking the isle, and felt far out at sea, buried in the ruins of St Nicholas thousands of the conquerors and the conquered![*]

Reports of treason afterwards circulated in Greece, and it was affirmed, and almost proved, that Costa, the leader of the Roumeliote mercenaries, had been bought by the Capitan Pasha. He may possibly have been a traitor, but still we think the catastrophe was owing to faulty dispositions, and consequent confusion, rather than to treachery: there is reason to believe that prosperity had spoiled the Psarrians, and impaired the good order and unanimity for which they were once remark-

[*] Of the Greeks in St Nicholas, but two were taken alive.

able. It was also said, that French and Austrian ships of war sounded the depth of water some days prior to the attack, and the Greeks inferred that they did it at the request of the Ottoman admiral; however, it is difficult to imagine that European officers could have been so base. The French frigate Isis witnessed the whole affair, and her captain, Monsieur Villeneuve de Bargemont, generously exerted himself to obtain a capitulation for the garrison of St Nicholas; but the rage of the Turkish troops was not to be restrained, although the Capitan Pasha offered, by proclamation, 500 piastres for every prisoner. On the morning of the 5th, Captain de Bargemont saved 156 individuals concealed at the north-east corner of the isle, and transported them in his frigate to Nauplia.

The carnage was enormous: according to a calculation, carefully drawn up by the surviving Psarrians after they reassembled, 3600 persons were missing out of their indigenous population; of the Roumeliotes hardly one escaped, and very few of the refugees. Some captives were taken, mostly of the latter class, but the number thus preserved was small, on account of the intense exasperation of the Mussulmans. The Turkish fleet suffered nothing, and their troops little, in the early part of the engagement, but St Nicholas cost them dear; they generally reckoned their own loss, caused by the assault and explosion, at from 3000 to 4000 men. In the article of plunder they were disappointed, especially with respect to slaves, for many Psarrian women drowned themselves with their infants rather than yield. The Capitan Pasha took or burnt upwards of 100 sail of ships, brigs, schooners, and small craft, twenty-six of which were in such good condition, and so well equipped, that he proposed to add them immediately to his navy. Leaving on the island 2000 soldiers, with two gun-boats, and a flotilla of

barks to collect and carry away the captured artillery, he returned to Mitylene on the night of the 4th, and thence despatched to Constantinople 200 prisoners, 500 heads, 1200 ears, and 35 Greek flags, trophies which were exposed at the Seraglio gate, (July the 24th,) to the gaze of the capital, with a yaftaball, or pompous inscription, affixed to them. A prodigious exultation reigned in Turkey, and news of the fall of Psarra inspired the Asiatic Moslems with so much enthusiasm, that from all parts of Anatolia they marched towards the coast, in order to co-operate in the invasion of Samos, Khosref Pasha's next object; at a moderate computation, 30,000 of them had poured into the camp of Scalanova by the first week of August. It is likely Samos would have been an easy conquest, if the grand admiral had gone thither directly, before its inhabitants had recovered from their consternation, instead of wasting a month at Lesbos, celebrating the Kourban Bayram, and sending couriers to summon them: his delay gave a new turn to the naval campaign.

On the evening of the 4th, thirty-three Psarrian vessels, great and small, were discerned approaching Hydra from the east, and others came in sight on the following morning. Their appearance, and the tale of woe told by those on board, deeply affected the Greeks, who, humbled by misfortune, seemed suddenly to awake to a sense of their past folly: their discord gave place for a season to energy and unanimity. The second division of the Hydriote and Spezziote squadrons, commanded by Miaulis, put to sea on the 6th and 7th, accompanied by some Psarrian brulots, including that of Canaris, who, as well as the Admiral Apostoli, survived to avenge his country's downfall. From the Morea, troops were hastily brought into Hydra, to defend it in case of an attack during the absence of the sq[illegible] Government granted succours to the destitute

Psarriotes, and assigned them Monemvasia as a temporary residence; but they subsequently settled at Egina, to the number of about 1800. As, at the moment of their flight, the contest had not terminated, and the false reports of Ionian merchantmen induced the Hydriotes to believe that the defenders of St Nicholas were still holding out, Miaulis was instructed to relieve them if possible. Learning, however, from an English ship, that all was finished at Psarra, he sailed with twenty vessels in quest of Sakhtouri, who, on his way to Hydra, met on the 8th, off Tinos, a Spezziote schooner, with orders for him to join Miaulis: of the twenty-five sail sent out with him only ten were now in company, the rest having remained at Patmos to water.

Anchoring under Samos on the 10th, the vice-admiral and his captains went ashore at Colones, and conversed with persons deputed to them by Lycurgus Logotheti, who represented that the Samians were excessively alarmed, and split into three parties; one wishing to fly, a second to claim the protection of England, and the third determined to fight to the last drop of their blood. Having encouraged them with fair words, the Hydriotes returned on board, and getting under weigh on the 11th, steered in the direction of Psarra. The wind being contrary, they made little progress, and next evening were off Scio, when Sakhtouri, with four vessels, engaged a Turkish brig, which, although her rigging was cut up by repeated broadsides of round and grape shot, fought her way through them. At daybreak on the 13th they were close to Psarra, and took an Ottoman schooner and a cutter deserted by the crew; another cutter, full of Turks, endeavouring to make the harbour, was intercepted by the brig of Captain Kheozi, who, after a vigorous resistance, carried her by boarding, put all the Mussulmans to death, and

then sunk her. Perceiving that the enemy was undisputed master of the isle, Sakhtouri stood to the south, in order to look for Miaulis. The latter having missed his colleague at Tinos, shaped his course for Psarra, and arriving at daylight of the 15th, anchored off Cape Liminari, and counted in the port twenty-seven vessels under the Ottoman flag. Besides the garrison left by the Capitan Pasha, and which was gradually diminishing, as they shipped off the captured ordnance, about 1000 Turks had staid behind to search for plunder among the ashes and rubbish. As they had never thought of repairing the batteries, nor of keeping a guard, upwards of 1000 sailors immediately landed: surprised and disconcerted, the Mohammedans formed in a dense column on a height above the harbour, but the Greeks by a brisk charge drove them from thence, and in the space of an hour gained possession of the Palæocastron, and the ruins of the town, excepting six or eight stone houses that were still standing, and where from 150 to 300 Turks shut themselves up. Of the remainder, those who escaped the sword ran down to the port, and hurried on board their flotilla with such precipitation that many were drowned. The crews of the small vessels being fired upon by two Greek launches stationed at the mouth of the haven, and intimidated by the rout of the troops, cut their cables and made sail for Scio: the insurgents at first cannonaded them from their anchors, and then, weighing, closely pursued. The chase and running fight lasted till the afternoon, when Sakhtouri's squadron coming up, attracted by the noise of guns, the Greeks got to windward of the hostile flotilla, and completed its defeat; one craft struck her flag, one blew up, two were sunk, and all the rest, save four, forced ashore on a rocky part of the Chian coast, and burned by the Turks themselves. This action cost the enemy six square-rigged vessels, seven

sloops, nine galliots, and a schooner; as they were full of men, the loss in killed and drowned was heavy, and among the dead bodies floating about, were recognised those of the Neapolitan consul, Bogliako, and a score of Franks, who, like him, had been speculating in the purchase of booty. The united Greek fleet returned to Psarra, where the Moslems continued to defend the houses, until the assailants gave over the attack, alleging that they were unwilling to destroy some Christian slaves detained within; another reason of their desisting was the noisome stench arising from heaps of unburied slain. They delivered forty Psarrians, and carried away more than thirty of the best guns, which the Turks had brought to the beach ready for embarkation.

The Capitan Pasha, informed on the 18th of what was passing, put to sea, and at sunrise on the 19th the Greeks descried his navy to the north of Scio; it consisted of a line-of-battle ship, the cut down two-decker, six frigates, five corvettes, and twelve schooners and sloops. Miaulis hung out a signal to luff and clear for action, but instead of obeying it fourteen vessels sheered off, and on his repeating it, two Spezziotes and the whole of the Psarrians bore up for Cape d'Oro.

The weather falling nearly calm, he remained in sight of the enemy till the 22d, when, finding his squadron reduced by desertion from fifty-two to thirty-six sail, he went to anchor at Sunium; there ten Spezziotes left him, and in consequence of a letter of recall from the primates, he re-entered Hydra on the 28th day of the month. Khosref Pasha occupied Psarra once more, removed the troops, artillery, and stores, pulled down the stone houses, encumbered the port with rubbish, and rendering the isle a perfect desert, sailed back to Mitylene, whence, after a short stay, he proceeded to attack Samos.

Lycurgus, who acted as dictator there, having sent deputies to the government at Nauplia, and received assurances of support, the Samians dismissed from their minds all idea of flight or submission, and abandoning the habitations near the strand, transferred their families and property to the steepest mountains, while 10,000 or 12,000 musketeers guarded the points on which a landing was practicable. By this time the two first instalments of the loan had reached Napoli, and 90,000 dollars being allotted to the naval service, the seamen came forwards with alacrity. On the 6th of August a combined squadron of Spezziotes and Psarrians went out of Spezzia, and on the 8th Sakhtouri sailed with a Hydriote division of one polacca ship, eight brigs and brigantines, two schooners, and four fire-ships, the whole steering for Samos. The Capitan Pasha at the same period approached it from the side of Scio with forty-three sail, and despatching his smaller vessels to the strait called Dar Boghazi, to take on board troops from the vicinity of Ephesus, advanced with his great ships to Colones, and exchanged a distant cannonade with a fort recently constructed by Lycurgus: eleven Spezziotes anchored at Colones, weighed, and ran to Patmos. A strong wind blowing from the south-east prevented the Turkish small craft from getting out of the Gulf of Scalanova, and obliged them to postpone their plan of disembarking till next day. On the morning of the 11th, Sakhtouri, who off Icaria had heard the cannonade, drew near, and perceived twenty sacolevas, and as many boats full of troops, endeavouring to cross from Asia to the beach of Karlovasi in the northern part of Samos. Three of his headmost vessels brought them to action, and after an engagement of an hour, the brigantine of Captain Kivotas captured a sacoleva, with a number of soldiers on board. A dead calm then suspended the operations

of the Greeks till five o'clock in the afternoon, when a light breeze springing up from the north, enabled them to close with the enemy. Captain Demetrius Sakhtouri took a sacoleva containing twenty Janissaries, who were slain, and drove another on shore; and Captain Lazzaro Panaighy attacking one of larger size, and carrying sixty soldiers, plied her with grape, killed all the men, and took possession of the vessel: the rest of the squadron coming up, dispersed the Turkish flotilla, obliging the sacolevas to run aground, while the boats escaped by rowing. According to the report of prisoners, 2000 troops had been embarked. Five Hydriote seamen were killed, and nine wounded by the enemy's musketry. At night the vice-admiral made sail for the port of Vathi, in order to learn tidings of the Capitan Pasha; informed that a number of boats was collected at Zagli, under the protection of a brig, he went there, and finding nothing, proceeded to Dar Boghazi, and anchored in the narrow channel. As the Greeks ran along the coast, receiving and returning a salute from the Samian batteries, they observed that the hills and plains of Asia were covered with the bivouacks of the Ottoman army. On seeing them, the Turkish brigs weighed, and stood to the south, to join the Capitan Pasha at Agia Marina.

At four o'clock of the 12th, the insurgents descried eighteen of the enemy's great ships beating up towards them, but making little way because the north wind was strong; Sakhtouri inviting all his captains on board, they resolved to remain and engage at their anchors. At seven, two frigates and a corvette nearing them, and commencing a cannonade, the vice-admiral ordered the brulots to advance, and his signals not being attended to, he went in person to enquire the reason, and discovered that the bruloteers would not move. Upon this he put some men into them from his

own brig, and succeeded in getting two fire-ships (those of Robozzi and Zabali) under weigh, one bearing down on a frigate, the other on a corvette; the demonstration was sufficient to make the Mussulmans sheer off, and at half-past eleven the firing ceased.

At seven A.M. of the 13th, the Turks approached and cannonaded, the Greeks answering them from their bow guns till ten o'clock, when the Mohammedans seeing the four brulots in motion retired again, and were chased beyond Cape Mycale; this proof of their cowardice very much encouraged the Christian sailors. At midnight the Spezziote squadron arrived, and at noon of the 14th, eight of their vessels and one Psarrian were moored alongside of the Hydriotes. On the same day, the Bishop of Samos, with Lycurgus, Lysander, Stamati, and the other leading men of the island, came to confer with the vice-admiral; their visit was the consequence of an angry letter written to them by Sakhtouri, in which he complained of their indifference and want of precaution.

At length, on the 16th, the Capitan Pasha, ashamed of allowing himself to be kept in check by so feeble a foe, came on in great force, forty-two men-of-war standing into the channel; his frigates opened a hot fire against the Greek squadron and batteries, and the corvettes, brigs, sloops, galliots, and small craft of every description, hugged the shore of Asia. Sixteen Hydriote and Spezziote vessels weighing anchor engaged twenty-two sail of the enemy, and the Samians in the fort and batteries did their duty. A body of their militia being assembled on the promontory of Colones,* Khosref Pasha's line-of-battle ship and a frigate discharged broadsides at them, but without doing mischief. Sakhtouri made a signal for the brulots to act, and repeated it

* So called from the yet standing columns of the famous temple of Juno.

again and again, when their captains came to him with the mortifying intelligence that their crews would not stir; in vain he offered to give each man 100 piastres, they persisted in their refusal. In this extremity, perceiving, to his exceeding joy, the fire-ship of Canaris approaching, he boarded her, and asked the brave Psarrian whether he would advance; the latter instantly replied in the affirmative, and being supported by a brigantine, pushed forwards in the midst of a shower of round and grape shot. His manœuvre induced the Turks, as usual, to draw off, and give over the action, two hours before noon; they had expended 5000, and the Greeks 1500 cannon-balls, with such bad aim, however, as to cause little damage on either side.

Certain that without driving the insurgents from their position in the strait, he would never be able to invade Samos, the grand admiral, on the 17th, made a fourth attempt, which gave rise to a more serious and bloody combat than any of the preceding. Favoured by a land breeze, a frigate of the first class and a corvette doubled Cape Trogilium, and began the cannonade; while the rest of the Ottoman fleet tried to pass between the Anatolian shore and the left wing of the Greeks, composed of the Spezziote division, which fought well. On land and water, in the channel, and on the opposite coasts, 60,000 combatants of the two nations faced each other, and the fate of Samos depended on the issue of their conflict. At ten o'clock in the morning, the fire-ships were steered towards the enemy's leading frigate, which carried fifty-four guns and 600 men; the first to assail her was the Hydriote Zabali, who was foiled through the pusillanimity of his crew, for, seeing that the Turks had manned four launches, they took to their boat, compelling the captain to accompany them: before quitting his brulot, Zabali lighted the train, and in so doing severely

scorched his face and hands, but it was to no purpose. Nevertheless the frigate did not escape, for Canaris darted upon her; unable to avoid his shock, the Moslems strove to run their ship on the Asiatic strand, but before this could be accomplished, Canaris laid her on board, when all the soldiers and mariners cast themselves into the sea, and were pursued by the Greek scampavias; the flames reaching her magazine, the frigate shortly blew up, and the explosion scattering about beams and spars, not only destroyed a dozen of boats, but also killed and wounded several men on shore. Appalled by this terrible spectacle, the Turks suspended the action, but soon renewed it again; the Capitan Pasha, with his flag-ship and three frigates, stood over towards the white Cape of Samos, and battered the castle, which returned his fire with spirit. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the bruloteer Vatikiotis, supported by the Hydriote vessels, burned a Tunisian brig of war of twenty guns, and at five, a large Tripolitan corvette was blown up, Rafalia grappling her on one side, while a Spezziote fire-ship hooked herself to the other. Robozzi attempted a frigate, that by towing, aided also by a puff of wind, got clear away from him. An hour after sunset the Mohammedans sheered off, and the Greeks resumed their station in Dar Boghazi, where at midnight they were reinforced by the Psarrian squadron under Apostoli, and three or four sail of Spezziotes. This remarkable sea-fight was fatal to the Turks, who lost three fine ships, 100 pieces of cannon, and at least 1000 men; six brulots of the insurgents were consumed, but only three bruloteers slain, and their armed vessels suffered little. The Asiatic troops encamped round Scalanova, witnessed every thing, and the defeat of their navy, as well as the terrific explosions, so thoroughly cooled their courage, that great bodies of them immediately disbanded.

A French gabarre and schooner lay near the scene of action, and their officers complimented Sakhtouri on his victory; however, he did not consider their congratulations sincere, and suspected that some night signals they made were meant for Khosref Pasha. Anxious to follow up his success, the Hydriote commander begged Lycurgus to convert two sacolevas into fire-ships, and pressed the Spezziote and Psarrian Navarchs to get under weigh; but Apostoli showed small inclination to second him, alleging that his vessels were foul, and in want of supplies; and as there now remained no brulots save those of Psarra, his co-operation was indispensable.

At daybreak on the 20th, the three squadrons moved, and perceived eleven of the enemy's large ships off Patmos, while their flotilla of above 100 brigs, schooners, galliots, and sloops, was at anchor in the Gulf of Karena, and guarded by two frigates under sail. Having reconnoitred them, the Greeks returned to Colones, where the Psarrians busied themselves in fishing up the guns of the frigate burnt on the 17th. On the 22d, Tombazi's schooner brought from Hydra an order for six vessels to join Miaulis at Cape Sunium; the rest of the fleet likewise going out, and discovering four hostile brigs, anchored beyond Mycale, and 2000 Turks, posted on the beach, cannonaded them ineffectually, the wind and current being contrary; after which they lay at Colones until the 28th, and then went to Patmos.

In the meantime, the Sultan's admiral, renouncing for the present his design upon Samos, proceeded to the roads of Cos, there to wait for the Egyptians.

SECTION II.

MEHEMET ALI'S armament, the largest and best equipped that had been seen in the Levant since Na-

poleon's invasion of Egypt, was ready for sea in the middle of July. The ships of war amounted to fifty-four, bearing four admirals' flags, those to wit of Ibrahim Pasha, Ismael Gibraltar, the Patrona Bey, and a Tunisian: in the Turkish division were counted one frigate, four corvettes, and nine brigs; in that of Tunis, two frigates, four brigs, and two schooners; and in the Egyptian squadron, two frigates, a corvette, and twenty-nine brigs. The land forces consisted of 12,000 regular infantry, formed into three regiments, 2000 Albanian light troops, 2000 cavalry, 500 gunners, 200 sappers, with a train of battering and field artillery stated at 150 pieces of cannon. To convey his army to Greece, besides a vast number of Turkish craft, the Viceroy had freighted as transports eighty-six European merchant vessels, (ships, brigs, schooners, and bombards,) which, while employed by him, did not gain less than double their value. Twenty-six of these (one English, and twenty-five Maltese) were under British colours, thirty-six Austrian, seventeen Spanish, four Russian, one Sardinian, one Tuscan, and one American. According to unexceptionable testimony, the whole fleet fell little short of 400 sail.

The Generalissimo, Ibrahim Pasha, Mehemet Ali's adopted son, was a middle-aged man, short and fat, with a broad face, a flat nose, small sparkling eyes, and a red beard; he had commanded with distinction against the Wechabys, and during his campaigns in Arabia, acquired a well merited reputation for dauntless valour and ferocious cruelty. His brother-in-law, Hussein Bey, was at the head of the Albanians; Lieutenant-colonel Romei (a Neapolitan) directed the engineer and artillery departments; and a French renegado named Sève, formerly aide-de-camp to Marshal Ney, and now under the title of Suleyman Bey, enjoying the Viceroy's favour, was colonel of one of the Egyptian

regiments. The regular soldiers, either Arab peasants, or blacks from Nubia, were clothed in a red jacket, trowsers, and skull-cap, and armed with a musket, bayonet, and cartridge-box. Their appearance was in the highest degree despicable, the men being low in stature, and having mostly suffered from ophthalmy; but they were patient, obedient, subject to a rigorous discipline, and taught the manual exercise, and some simple evolutions. The officers were Georgians, or Turks, and each regiment had five or six European instructors attached to it, whose business was to drill the battalions, for they never went into battle; the medical staff was entirely composed of Frenchmen and Italians.

Altogether, reckoning servants and grooms, about 20,000 men were put on board, and 2000 horses of a very superior kind: transports attended, laden with provisions and water, but there were no hospital ships, no fixed point of rendezvous, and the code of signals was defective.

For several successive days the vessels were going out of the harbour of Alexandria. Ibrahim Pasha sailed on the 19th, and in the beginning of August the scattered fleet put into Makri on the coast of Karamania, to refresh and water; although the weather had been generally fine, yet many ships of war were disabled on the passage. While they refitted, the troops were landed and encamped on shore, where Ibrahim reviewed his whole army. Tired of the sea and of forced service, the soldiers sought every opportunity of absconding; when detected, however, they were punished with the utmost severity, five being shot in one day; on leaving Makri (August the 10th), the expedition was short by 1000 men, through sickness and desertion.

Off Scarpanto they began to experience the Etesian winds, or heavy northerly and north-westerly summer gales of the Archipelago, which baffled them so much

that they bore up for Rhodes. On arriving there, Ibrahim Pasha let go his anchor in seventy fathoms, and the Tunisian admiral, not being able to fetch so high, dropped his at a depth of 154 fathoms, and consequently lost anchors and cables. At Rhodes, the fleet lay so close together, that it would have been easy for the Greeks to burn it. Understanding that the Capitan Pasha was to meet them at Cos, they sailed on the 17th; their departure on that precise day, being rather the result of accident than intention, for the Generalissimo's frigate having parted from her anchors, and been driven out to sea, the fleet weighed and followed him; incensed at this mishap, Ibrahim caused his captain to be bastinadoed. At the end of the month they got into Boudroum (the ancient Halicarnassus), and, as they expected, found the Constantinopolitan navy, and a squadron from Tripoli, moored in the opposite roadstead of Stanchio. The united fleets, after their junction, consisted of one line-of-battle ship, above twenty-five frigates, as many large corvettes, mounting from twenty-four to twenty-eight guns, and near fifty brigs and schooners, many of which carried from twenty to twenty-four pieces of cannon, besides an infinite number of armed transports, galliots, and small craft of various sorts, all anchored betwixt Cos and the main. The troops being landed for the sake of refreshment, the transports were ordered to fill up their water, and take in twenty-five days' provisions, preparatory to sailing for the Morea. Obstacles, however, arose, which the Mussulmans had not calculated upon. Intelligence of Sakhtouri's victory produced a burst of enthusiasm in Greece, new fire-ships were fitted out with great expedition, abundance of ammunition sent off to the squadron on the coast of Asia, and Miaulis, with the second division of the Hydriote marine, joined Sakhtouri (September the 4th) at Lapsa near Patmos, and assu-

med the command. His force amounted to seventy sail, with perhaps 5000 men and 700 guns,* and he had to contend against 80,000 sailors and soldiers, and upwards of 2500 pieces of artillery.

On the 2d, Tombazi's schooner captured a vessel belonging to the viceroy of Egypt, laden with rice, coffee, cloth, and twenty chests of small coin: and at daybreak of the 5th, Miaulis went to seek the enemy; twenty of his best ships of war and six fire-ships were detached in advance, the remainder following at a distance of two or three miles. At half-past ten o'clock their van began the engagement with a frigate which was on the look-out, and put her to flight; the Mohammedans then weighed and cleared for action, and the Christians came down with admirable gallantry, Miaulis leading the main body. The Capitan Pasha stood out towards them, but in tacking split his maintop and top-gallant sails, and ran into Boudroum, losing his barge, which went adrift. One Turkish corvette closely engaged for ten minutes a corvette of the insurgents, and the captain of the former was slain. Ibrahim Pasha gave proofs of courage, and narrowly escaped being burnt by a brulot, and Ismael Gibraltar in his frigate twice ran along the Greek line, pouring in a heavy fire; but very few of the Turks showed any inclination to fight, the confusion amongst them became excessive, and their principal care was to avoid running foul of each other, which nevertheless they continually did. The strait where the combat happened being hardly spacious enough for such a quantity of shipping, the Greeks could not always keep clear of similar accidents; one brulot got entangled with a Hydriote brig, and was so much damaged in her rigging, that the crew aban-

* Many were fire-ships, carrying few men and no guns, and even the strongest Greek crews scarcely exceeded ninety individuals.

doned and set her on fire. During the whole action the Ottomans cannonaded briskly from the castle of Cos. An hour after sunset, a shell broke the mast of Manizza's fire-ship; he and his men rowed away in their boat, but the match which they had kindled going out, the enemy took possession of the vessel. The breeze freshening at night, the Greeks beat out of the strait, and kept to windward; and the Moslems, having made a vain show of pursuit, anchored at Boudroum to repair damages. They had few killed or wounded, but many of their ships were disabled by mutual collision.

Next morning, the insurgents being still off the port, several men of war exchanged shots with them, and one strong brig, advancing with an air of resolution, was beaten back by the Hydriote brig of Lalaka: in the evening, the Greeks anchored at Yeronda, a cape not far from Miletus, whence, perceiving on the 9th, seven hostile ships near Leros, they chased them to Cos.

Convinced of the absolute impossibility of taking such a convoy as theirs across the Egean in presence of an enemy, the Turks, after two or three days' deliberation, resolved to attack the insurgents with every ship of war they could muster, and got under weigh for that purpose. Before sunrise on the 10th, Miaulis and Sakhtouri, with twelve other Hydriote and Spezziote vessels, being becalmed off Zatalia, observed eighty-seven sail of Turks and Egyptians standing towards them with a light breeze from the north-east, and forming a line that extended from Leros to Kalymnos: at one extremity was the Capitan Pasha's two-decker, and near him the frigates of Ibrahim Pasha and Ismael Gibraltar. The enemy's corvettes and brigs commenced the cannonade, and soon after the corvette and schooner of Tombazi found themselves engaged with two of the Sultan's frigates. The Moslems tried to pass to windward of the Greeks, but could not succeed, being checked

by the fire-ships, and a fresh division of Christian vessels that was now enabled to support Miaulis. A Psarrian brulot commanded by Demetrius Papanicoli manœuvred with great audacity, until a shot carrying away her fore-topmast, he was forced to abandon and burn her. Two Hydriote fire-ships and one of Spezzia assailed an Egyptian brig, which, having a number of Europeans among her crew, was so well managed, that she eluded them, and all three were consumed in vain. This incident discouraging the islanders, they strove to weather the promontory called Capo Grande, thus evidently retiring before the foe, who pursued them. Two frigates, three corvettes, and four brigs stretching to leeward, attempted to cut off the division of Miaulis, which brought up the rear: their broadsides did mischief to the Greeks, wounded Sakhtouri's masts, and killed or maimed seven of his men. The battle was retrieved by the valour of the Hydriote Papantoni, who in the afternoon laid his fire-ship aboard the Tunisian admiral's frigate of forty-four guns, and 750 men, one-third of them Arab soldiers, all of whom, as well as the sailors, instantly leapt into the waves. Lest their pumps should extinguish the flames, Miaulis ordered Vatikiotis to grapple her on the other side, and in half an hour the frigate blew up: the admiral of Tunis and an Egyptian colonel were picked up in a boat by Captain Tzamados. The combat then ceased; the Mohammedan fleet concentrated itself off Kalymnos, and Miaulis, having made a signal to close, which was not generally obeyed, went to anchor at Lapsa. Although, in point of fact, this may be considered a drawn battle, yet the advantage rested with the Christians, the burning of six fire-ships being greatly overbalanced by the destruction of a fine frigate with her whole crew, and the taking of an admiral. Most of the infidels betrayed extreme cowardice; both Ibrahim and Ismael Gibraltar hung

back, and the Capitan Pasha stood aloof altogether, insomuch that it was said amongst the Turks, that his eighty gun-ship might as well have been at Constantinople: the Patrona Bey fought bravely, but was not supported. Miaulis, Sakhtouri, and several Greek captains conducted themselves admirably, but many also misbehaved; some remained to windward, spectators of the action, others fired at such a distance, that the balls struck their own headmost ships instead of the enemy, and thirteen sail (including the Spezziote Navarch) ran to Samos, and spread a report that the leeward vessels were lost. As usual, the honour of the day belonged to the bruloteers, two of whom were slain, and seven wounded by musket shots, and in the latter list were the Captains Pipinis and Papantoni. The Tunisian admiral (esteemed an able seaman, and previously acquainted with many Hydriote captains) at first experienced tolerable treatment, until the Greeks discovered that he was tampering with his guards, when they put him to death, lest he should escape and carry to the enemy a correct account of the indiscipline of their marine.

After being absent two days, the Turks returned to Boudroum to refit, and consult about ulterior measures. Although Ibrahim and the Capitan Pasha exchanged visits and ceremonies, a coolness reigned betwixt them; a circumstance to be expected, since Khosref had once been Mehemet Ali's competitor for the government of Egypt. This, however, was no time for the open display of ill-will, and, necessity obliging them to come to an understanding, they determined, instead of shaping their course for the Morea, to employ the autumn in subduing Samos. A part of the army being judged sufficient for its conquest, Ibrahim ordered all the European transports into Boudroum, where a frigate was appointed to guard them, and landed a portion of his regular troops, who encamped on shore, along with

2000 Arnauts brought by the Capitan Pasha. He disembarked the whole of his cavalry to save it from utter ruin, a vast number of his horses being dead, and the others languishing from long confinement on board-ship. On the 18th of September, the Pashas sailed with near 200 men-of-war and small craft, but made little way, being baffled by strong and variable winds, frequently altering their course, and both ships of war and transports perpetually putting back from stress of weather: the Greeks, in two divisions, watched their movements, and Miaulis was almost always in sight. Falling in with them on the 22d between Icaria and Amorgos, he was with six vessels far a-head of his squadron, when in the afternoon a dead calm surprised him, and his situation was very critical, for the Turks and Egyptians, favoured by a breeze from the south-west, bore down upon him, and Ibrahim, pointing to the two separate groups of Greeks lying like logs upon the water, cried out, "Both are ours!" Yet although some of the Turks actually went to leeward of the six Hydriotes, forcing the latter to engage at once to starboard and larboard, and though 10,000 cannon shot were fired by the enemy, his hopes were disappointed; and at sunset a north-west wind springing up, enabled the Christians to get away and reunite: Ismael Gibraltar's frigate was a good deal damaged in the sea-fight of Icaria.

As the insurgents knew that Samos was again threatened, that Asiatic troops had assembled at Tchesmè, and forty sacolevas were ready to waft them across, Sakhtouri remained in the neighbourhood to oppose them, while Miaulis kept an eye on the grand fleet which beat about Naxos, went into Mycone, and hoisted the Ottoman flag there, without harming the people. On the night of the 27th, a violent storm from the south dispersed the Moslems over the Archipelago, and

when it abated they rendezvoused at Mitylene, where their admirals brought up on the 29th ; a frigate and a brig, entering the haven of Naxos, were repulsed by the inhabitants, who cut to pieces a party of men that landed, and ravaged the fields. The same gale scattering the Greeks, on the evening of the 28th Miaulis was in the Strait of Scio with his own brig, eleven armed vessels, and one brulot, and having with this small force given chase to thirty sail of the enemy's rear, he, on the 30th, looked into Mitylene, and ascertained that the Mussulmans were at anchor there. He then steered to the south in order to rally his squadrons ; and on the 4th of October collected the Hydriotes at Volisso of Chios, while the Psarrians and Spezziotes assembled in the roads of Psarra. At night he beat up towards the north, and on the morning of the 6th lay off Samos to receive a supply of ammunition : all the Psarrians now deserted him, except a bruloteer named Nicodemus, who declared that he served his country rather than his Navarch, and would still follow Miaulis.* Thoroughly sick of a series of reverses, aggravated by the continuance of tempestuous weather, the Capitan Pasha bid adieu to Samos, quitted Lesbos on the 4th with sixteen sail, and passing the Dardanelles, his flag-ship, shattered, not by the Greek bullets, which he had cautiously avoided, but by the winds and waves, was, on the 12th, towed by a frigate into the Golden Horn. He left fourteen heavy frigates and most of his corvettes and brigs with Ibrahim, and the latter put to sea, intending to return to Halicarnassus. Encountering, however, the insurgents on the evening of the 6th, off Karabouroun (the wind being then south), he bore

* The Hydriotes made great complaints of the lukewarmness evinced by the Psarrian admiral ; Apostoli's character was always clear on the score of courage and integrity, but he and his countrymen felt a certain animosity towards Hydra and Spezzia.

away for Mitylene, and Miaulis made the signal for a general chase. Two hours after nightfall, Miaulis, Sakhtouri, the Spezziote vice-admiral, the corvette and schooner of Tombazi, seven Hydriote brigs, and five fire-ships, came up with the enemy, who showed lights, crowded sail, and maintained a running fight. The brulots being brought into play, two of them, despite of a brisk discharge of musketry, set fire to an Egyptian brig, and blew her up in a quarter of an hour. Philipacki did not succeed in his attempt upon a frigate, but at one o'clock in the morning the Psarrian Nicodemus effected the destruction of a Constantinopolitan corvette, which was blown into the air. She mounted nineteen, and the brig twelve guns, and in the first perished 180, in the second 75 of the Viceroy's regular soldiers, with the entire crews. At daybreak Robozzi ran aboard a large transport carrying 500 men, but being to leeward of her the flames did not spread sufficiently, and the brulot alone was consumed. When the sun rose on the 7th, the Turks got into Mitylene, and the Greeks having but one fireship left, retired towards Samos. Displeased with the behaviour of his officers, Ibrahim made a severe example of the captains of two brigs, one of whom he caused to be executed, and the other he cudgelled to death with his own hands for running foul of a frigate.

After the night action of the 6th, the defects of the Greek navy appeared in a glaring light: first the Spezziotes returned into port, then the Hydriotes began to slip away, so that his squadron dwindling down to twenty-five sail, Miaulis had the mortification (October the 21st) of seeing, from his anchorage at Makrocampo of Samos, the passage of the Egyptians, who next day went into Boudroum, with the loss of a corvette of twenty-six guns, which, having struck on a shoal, was burnt by the Mohammedans. 'During Ibrahim's ab-

sence, cold rainy weather had occasioned great sickness among the troops encamped at Halicarnassus, and latterly they died at the rate of fifteen or twenty a day. The period for which his European transports were freighted being about to expire, he concluded a new contract with them, extending to the 25th of December; then reimbarking his soldiers, horses, &c., he resolved to proceed to Crete and winter in that island, the season being too far advanced for any operations against the Morea. On the 8th of November, his fleet and convoy sailed from Boudroum, steering for Suda, got clear of Stanchio, and spent a day in collecting: the next three or four days were fine, with very light breezes from north and west, and the ships were towed by their boats. Miaulis was still cruising in the neighbourhood of Cos, though buffeted by heavy gales, obliging him at times to run for shelter to Leros and Lapsa: Canaris had joined him in a fire-ship, others were sent from Hydra, and some Spezziotes and Psarrians having come to Patmos, his force was again respectable. Informed of the enemy's plans by twelve Kassiotes and a Candian Turk, who deserted to him in a sacoleva, and by the master of an Ionian trabacalo, who, on the 7th, handed him letters for the governor of Crete, with which he had been intrusted by Ibrahim, the Greek Admiral allowed the Moslems to get out to sea, and then pursued with forty-five vessels. On the 10th one of them came up with a Spanish ship full of Arab troops and horses that had fallen behind the convoy, and captured her after an obstinate resistance with small arms. On the following morning, the Greeks being off the islets of Plaka and Safrani, and the enemy near those called the Two Brothers, a little distant skirmishing took place: on the 12th the insurgents approached, and descried the whole Egyptian fleet whitening with its sails the Cretan sea, and appearing

to stretch from the rocks of Eremonisia almost to Candia. A division of men-of-war was in front, the transports in the centre, and Ibrahim, with more than a dozen frigates, brought up the rear. At noon a gentle breeze beginning to blow, the enemy's frigates were towed on, the Turks huzzaed, and fired several hundred cannon-shots out of range, the Pasha's ship discharging two broadsides at random: it soon fell calm again, and the Christians and Mussulmans lay motionless till evening, when a north wind springing up, both made sail. At dawn of day on Saturday the 13th, the Mohammedans were nearly out of sight, but the breeze veering round to the south-west, the insurgents stood on close hauled, and in a few hours got to windward of them. At noon, the transports being ahead off Candia, in company with an Alexandrian frigate, and a crowd of smaller vessels of war, the Pasha and the rest of the frigates hull down astern, a division of twenty Greeks bore down upon the leading frigate, and commenced a furious attack, five or six of their brigs passing repeatedly under her stern, raking her, and making a great slaughter on board. When this had lasted for half an hour, Vokos endeavoured to grapple her with his fireship, but did not succeed, because the Turks manned two large launches to board him, and seize his boat: however, the bruloteers defended themselves so well, that they beat them off, killed many, and took one launch. Robozzi renewing the attempt, also failed, although he set part of the frigate's sails on fire, and so frightened her crew, that the second captain and a number of officers and men jumped overboard. Meanwhile round shot flew about in all directions, and the Egyptian brigs-of-war and the transports getting out all their boats to tow, did their utmost to escape; for which cowardly conduct eleven captains of the former were subsequently broke. About four o'clock in the

afternoon, Ibrahim Pasha came up with twelve frigates, and, forming a line to cover his convoy, a general engagement ensued: the Greeks twice sailed along his line at point-blank distance, giving and receiving broadsides, and they burned ineffectually two more brulots. Night closed in, the weather became bad, and at nine o'clock, the Turkish ships of war, hoisting each four or five lanterns at the mast-head, put before the wind, and fairly ran out of the Archipelago, between Candia and Kassos, leaving the transports to follow as well as they could. Next morning Condouriotti's corvette took off Scarpanto a sacoleva carrying Egyptian troops, and Sakhtouri putting a brig-of-war to flight by a single broadside, captured two Maltese merchant brigs and an Austrian ship; one laden with provisions, and the others containing 286 of Ibraham's regulars, (including seven officers,) fifty-nine horses, and twenty-two camels. Miaulis and Tombazi picked up two brigs belonging to the convoy, and a large Turkish transport was totally lost to the north of Stanchio. On the 14th, the Pasha and his four admirals* were hove too to the south of Scarpanto without a transport; some, however, began to make their appearance in the evening. They steered for Rhodes, and that being a place where they could not lie in winter, went on to Marmorice Bay. There, as well as at Rhodes, men-of-war and transports were constantly dropping in, but up to the end of the month seventy or eighty sail were still unaccounted for. Some had got into Candia, and four European and four Turkish transports returned to Alexandria, whence Mehemet Ali sent them back, after causing the masters of the latter to be nailed to their masts by the ears.

These consequences of his defeat on the 13th of November threw Ibrahim into great perplexity; provi-

* The Capitana and Reala Beys were now with him.

sions were scarce at Marmorice, cold damp weather very much increased the sickness among his troops, whom death and desertion were fast thinning, and it became indispensable to look out for good quarters before the 25th of December, when his second contract with the European captains would expire. If the Greeks could have kept the sea during the winter months, they would in all probability have hindered him from crossing the Egean, and thus have ruined his expedition; but satisfied with having cut him off from Candia, and driven him back to the coast of Asia, they went home with their prizes, and were all in port by the 25th of November: it is true, that the season was excessively stormy, and that many of their best vessels, having been afloat for five months, stood in need of repairs. Ibrahim sailed from Marmorice (December the 5th), and, there being no obstacle in the way, arrived without further accidents at Suda, put his harassed army, diminished by at least one-third, into quarters of refreshment, and dismissed the European shipping.

Of the seven naval campaigns of the contest, this was the most glorious to the Hellenic arms, and calamitous to the Mohammedans, who, from July to December, lost two splendid frigates, two corvettes, and two brigs-of-war blown up with all hands, one corvette wrecked, and fifty sail of transports and small craft taken, sunk, or destroyed; an admiral, 4000 soldiers and seamen slain or drowned, and about 500 Arab troops carried prisoners to Nauplia. Reckoning those who fell at Psarra, and a multitude that died of disease, their operations in the Archipelago doubtless cost them 15,000 men: the sums expended, especially by the viceroy, were enormous. The insurgents burned in the various sea-fights twenty-one fire-ships, and abandoned one which was taken; their loss in other items,

whether of killed and wounded, or damage done to their armed vessels, was too trifling to be worth notice.

It will readily be observed, that they never owed their success to hard fighting, which indeed was out of the question, their ships being very slight, and their guns mostly nine-pounders, but to nautical skill, and the intrepidity of the bruloteers, culled from the flower of their youth: for the impunity with which they manœuvred amidst the enemy's masses, they were indebted to the random firing of the Turks, who rarely hit them by chance, although they were perpetually either striking with shot, or running foul of each other.

If, however, we weigh the advantages and defeats of both parties, throwing into the scale Psarra and Kassos, we shall find the sacrifice of human life, shipping, and ordnance pretty equally balanced; with this distinction, that an empire like Turkey could retrieve its misfortunes, and equip fresh fleets and armies, while the disaster of Psarra was irreparable, and there an eye of Greece was put out. Such seemed to be the Sultan's opinion, for he gave his admiral a gracious reception. With better reason the Hellenic government expressed in several decrees its grateful sense of the services of its marine, and Miaulis, on his return to Hydra, was welcomed with those honours his zeal, courage, and perseverance deserved.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK IV.—CHAP. II.

(No. I.)—*Inscription affixed at Constantinople to the trophies brought from Psarra.*

The Greeks of certain islands in the White (Egean) Sea, who for some years have been in a state of rebellion, had not yet felt the avenging arm of the true believers; they had succeeded in fortifying themselves, and, relying on their false religion, boasted of their military strength; whenever they gained any advantage, they never failed to pour out on the Mussulmans their venomous malice. Notwithstanding this, a firm resolution was adopted, according to the injunction of the holy law, and with the divine aid, of punishing those infidels. In consequence, the fortunate Khosref Mehemet Pasha, generalissimo of the imperial fleet, struck the first blow against the isle of Psarra fortified by the unbelievers. As soon as the janissaries and seimens,* whom he drafted from his ships, landed on that soil of reprobation, they, with their sabres in their hands, turned and carried the formidable batteries of the enemy; so that through their intrepidity, favoured by the divine grace, the Mussulmans triumphed, the infidels were cut to pieces, and in thirty-six hours the isle was taken. The Arnaut infidels, whom the Psarrian rebels called in to succour them, were all put to the sword. Ten chiefs of the insurrection, and 500 men, have been made prisoners; 110 vessels, and more than 100 pieces of cannon, have fallen into our power: finally, thanks to Providence, the isle is subdued. Above 500 heads of the unbelievers, 1200 ears, and 35 standards, presented by the said Pasha to the Sublime Porte, are thus contemptuously cast on the earth.

* Seimens, provincial militia of older standing than the janissaries.

CHAP. III.

Operations in Northern Greece—Second Civil War, and Transactions in Peloponnesus to the end of the Year 1824—Rebellion and Death of Odysseus.

SECTION I.

As Aboulaboud, during his stay in Thessaly, did nothing answerable to the expectations of the Porte, but, on the contrary, excited by his cruelties innumerable complaints, he was formally disgraced in the beginning of spring, and Dervish Pasha of Vidin being appointed in his stead Roumeli Valesi, received instructions to raise an army of 30,000 men, and lead it against Greece. This order it was much easier for the Sultan to give than for his general to execute, because the European Turks, having lost all taste for such expeditions, were averse to marching: however, Dervish Pasha assembled in his camp at Nissa some militia from the upper parts of Roumelia, and advancing in June to Larissa, sent detachments to Zeituni and Patradjik to occupy the passes of Æta, and repress the incursions of the insurgents, whose active bands scoured Thessaly. About the same period, the 2000 Janissaries brought by sea to Negropont, crossed into Attica, and encamped at Oropos. On the borders of Phocis, Panourias, Scalzadimos, Siphakas, and other chiefs, intrenched themselves near Salona, in order to oppose the Roumeli Valesi; Athens was defended by Ghouras, who, since his return from the Morea, acted independently, and holding a commission signed by the

Executive, no longer professed obedience to Odysseus. The ravages of the Turks from Oropos soon calling him into the field, he, with 800 men, took post, July the 16th, on a stony height, above the plain of Marathon, where, on the 18th, the Mussulmans came to attack him, and after discharging near fifty cannon-shot, assaulted his position. The skirmish was sharp; but the sight of a fresh party of Greeks advancing under the Leucadian Eumorphopoulos, causing the janissaries to waver, Ghouras fell upon and routed them, and, as a proof of his victory, presented to the Athenian Primates two of their flags, thirty heads of the slain, and a few prisoners. This affair making more noise than it ought to have done, on account of the celebrated ground where it was fought, added greatly to his reputation.

Learning that a column of cavalry, detached from Zeituni by Dervish Pasha, was on its march through Bœotia, and that reinforcements from Eubœa had arrived at Kalamos, Ghouras retired to the city, and the enemy moving upon Kapandriti, most of the Athenians withdrew to Salamis. Towards the end of the month, Miaulis despatched from Cape Sunium four Hydriote vessels, which, entering the Eubœan Strait, sunk two small craft, and several row-boats used by the Moslems for ferrying soldiers across. At daybreak on the 29th, 300 Turkish horse appeared within gun-shot of the Acropolis, and another body broke into the Mesoghaia, killing the adult peasants, and carrying to Kapandrite slaves and cattle: on the 1st of August, approaching still nearer, and in larger force, the batteries fired upon them, and the Greeks sallying, after a slight action, obliged them to retreat by the road of Kephissia.

On the 15th, 700 of their cavalry showing themselves under the walls of Athens, a brisk encounter

took place; Ghouras on horseback, at the head of a party of mounted officers, skirmished with the Ottoman troopers amongst Hadrian's pillars, and, seconded by his infantry, repulsed them with the loss of thirty killed and wounded. He and his captains went forth against the Mussulmans on the 19th, attacked them next morning while marching from Kapandriti to Kalamos, threw their foot soldiers into confusion, and seized part of their camels and baggage; but the horsemen turning back upon the insurgents, cut down the foremost of them, and put the rest to flight. Nevertheless the enemy, suffering from fever and dysentery, the natural consequences of indulging in unripe fruit, continued their retreat, the infantry reimbarking on the same evening at Kalamos, and the cavalry moving by Oropos and Thebes to Negropont. Omer Pasha, desirous to be rid of the turbulent Janissaries, whom he had never admitted within the gates of his towns, shipped them off at the close of September on board seven vessels for Volo; the horse returned to Thessaly by the road of Talanta, and the Athenians, delivered from any fear of seeing a foe until the following summer, re-established themselves in their shops and houses. Meanwhile the Roumeli Valesi, backed by very strong firmans of the Sultan, had at length been able to collect 8000 or 10,000 men, chiefly Albanians and Ghegs, those barbarians, whose sole trade was war, being ever ready to serve for hire; and he prepared to accomplish the prescribed plan of campaign, by proceeding to Lepanto and uniting with Omer Vriones. First, however, it was necessary to clear the defiles of 3000 or 4000 insurgents, composed of the Armatolic militia of Salona, Kravari, and Zygos, commanded by Panourias, Scalza, Sifakas, and Makrys, of a few Souliotes headed by Tzavella, and some Peloponnesians of Londos, under Panaighoty Notaras. The Serasker, fixing his headquarters at the

bridge of Alamanna (a secure distance in the rear), sent forward his lieutenants, Yussuf of Perkofftsha, and Abbas Pasha, a native of Dibra, to the Han of Gravia.* On the 20th of July, an Albanian division penetrating into the canton of Lidoriki, which it plundered of 8000 sheep, was repulsed at Moosonizza by Scalza and Sifakas. On the 26th, the two Pashas, with the main body of their troops, supported by the fire of three fieldpieces, attempted to force the centre of the Greeks, posted among rocks and forests at Ampliani (a league from Gravia), and covered by ten redoubts or tambourias, constructed with more than usual care during the preceding winter. Being saluted with a hot discharge of musketry from the intrenchments, and then charged by Tzavella and his Souliotes, the Turks were defeated with considerable slaughter, and driven back to Gravia, abandoning to the victors two pieces of cannon, seven standards, a quantity of arms and ammunition, and many horses and camels.

Endeavouring on the 31st to turn the Christians, and reach Salona by the summits of Parnassus, the infidels met with a check from Dyovourniotis.

While the dry season lasted, the Turks kept their ground in the valleys of the Cephisus and the Sperchius, effecting nothing, and frequently harassed by the insurgents, who got into their rear, beat up their quarters, and intercepted their convoys; until Dervish Pasha, perceiving that the progress of desertion would soon leave him without an army, fired three cannon-shot as a signal of retreat, on the night of the 18th of October, when the camp of Gravia was broken up, and his troops repassing the Sperchius in disorder, dispersed themselves. The Greeks then descended from the moun-

* The same Yussuf Pasha who commanded in Moldavia in 1821, and in 1823 was Roumeli Valesi.

tains, and sought for the winter such shelter as half demolished towns and villages could afford them.

On the frontier of Western Hellas, the military operations of this year were still more futile and bloodless. The internal feuds of Albania engaging the attention of Omer Vriones, he seemed extremely reluctant to quit Berat; but reiterated injunctions from Constantinople having finally put him in motion, he entered Acarnania with 5000 Arnauts, and encamped at Karavansera, on the Ambracian gulf. Mavrocordato was as eager as his antagonist was backward to take the field; for being now relieved from Souliote importunity, supplied with money, and named by the government Director-General of Western Greece, he hoped to perform some notable exploits, and shine in the character of a warrior. Accompanied by the titular war minister, Alexaki Vlakhopoulos, he set out from Messalonghi, August the 9th, and posted himself at the monastery of Lygovizzi in Acarnania, having under his orders the captains Tzongas, Rhangos, Iskos, Stornari, Liaketas, &c.

Their forces did not exceed 2000 men, and these were disseminated round the gulf, from the main chain of Pindus to Anactorium. As they could not, and the Pasha would not, assume the offensive, Mavrocordato's visions of glory were not realized, and the weekly bulletins he published in the Greek Chronicle, enumerating every musket-shot fired at the outposts, and every horse stolen from the enemy's bivouacks, excited ridicule. To what purpose, indeed, should Vriones have moved from the sea-coast, where a brig and gun-boat brought him from Prevesa all he required? since the project of campaign was already frustrated by the Roumeli Valesi's defeat, and the non-appearance of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets: besides, each step that carried him from Epirus, would have

strengthened his Mohammedan foes. The only enterprise he ventured upon was pushing into the heart of the country a corps of cavalry, that, passing the Greek stations unobserved on the night of September the 7th, surprised Vrakhori, and returned to their camp with 200 captives. By way of reprisal, Liaketas made a sudden inroad into Epirus, and burned Godista. Now and then there occurred a skirmish in which two or three men were slain, and in one of them unfortunately a favourite nephew of Tzongas lost his life. When Omer Pasha and Mavrocordato had for three months looked at each other from the castle of Karavansera, and the heights of Lygovizzi, the autumnal rains, and increasing troubles in Albania, induced the former to fall back upon Prevesa: on the 18th of November, he set fire to his hutted camp, and retreated through Makrynoros, without experiencing the least molestation from Andreas Iskos, who had undertaken to guard the defiles. Mavrocordato was indignant, but he could punish that captain in no other way than by inserting in the Messalonghi paper an article couched in pretty general terms.

Having thus briefly traced the features of this most insignificant campaign in continental Greece, we may ask, how, without the assistance of Egypt, it would ever have been possible for the Porte to vanquish the insurgents by such feeble and disjointed efforts? In 1824, no more than 20,000 troops could be drawn from the provinces of European Turkey, and they were perfectly kept at bay by 7000 Greeks: except at Marathon and Ampliani, there was nothing that deserved to be called fighting, and it is doubtful whether 500 men were killed in action along the whole frontier.

Mavrocordato, who had resigned the presidency of the Senate, because he expected to gain military eclat, seemed now to be convinced, that in leading irre-

gular bands of Armatoles, he was out of his proper sphere, and therefore accepted an offer to join the government at Nauplia. Before taking leave of Western Greece, he, in his quality of director-general, endeavoured to arrange the affairs of that country, which were in danger of falling into wilder confusion than ever, the inhabitants of Messalonghi and Anatoliko positively refusing to furnish quarters to the troops. To bring about a better understanding between the people and the soldiers, he summoned a provincial congress, which met (December the 29th) at Anatoliko, where above 100 deputies sat down in the church of the Panaghia, and elected Tzongas for their president. Their objects were, to receive petitions, enquire into abuses, and devise means of paying, feeding, and lodging the military, an exceedingly difficult matter, since an official report laid before the assembly, plainly stated that the surface of Western Hellas, from the mountains of Agrafa to the gates of Messalonghi, was one vast scene of desolation, presenting to the eye only uncultivated fields and burnt hamlets; and the petty revenue, accruing from the fisheries and custom-houses, had barely sufficed for the expenses of Mavrocordato's household. The congress could hit upon no expedient, save that of deputing three members to Nauplia, to explain their wants and demand money. The chapter of abuses was a fertile subject; for from every canton came long lists of complaints against the captains, and these were publicly read, in order to put to shame delinquents whom the laws could not reach. Makrys was one of those who had committed the most grievous wrongs, and manifested the greatest contumacy, but he was likewise the most thoroughly humbled; during the perusal of his misdeeds, a smart shock of an earthquake was felt, whereupon Spiridion Trikoupi rose, and apostrophized the mountain robber with so much

eloquence, that his conscience was touched; he grew pale, trembled, and, hastily seizing a pen, set his name to some papers he had previously refused to sign. This incident did not fail to make a good impression on the rude but superstitious minds of the Armatoles. Having taken into consideration the renewed dissensions of the Morea, and resolved to uphold the existing government, the congress dissolved itself on the 5th of January: Mavrocordato then departed, after receiving a complimentary address, and Etolia and Acarnania were tolerably tranquil until next summer.

SECTION II.

THE victory of the constitutional party over Colocotroni and his adherents, was not of so decisive a nature as to render a revival of the contest at all improbable, and it became inevitable from the moment that the Executive had the imprudence to alienate Zaimis and Londos, the two most powerful primates, who had done so much towards the overthrow of the Antartic faction. From a date prior to the revolution, as well as after its conclusion, they were bound by ties of intimate friendship, although their characters were different. Zaimis was endowed with political talents, gravity of manners, sound sense, and brilliant eloquence; he was upright in his dealings, kind and generous to his inferiors, beloved by the people of his province, and respected by all men, because he respected himself: his faults were pride, ambition, and timidity in the field. Londos possessed abundance of courage, but he was drunken, debauched, rapacious, and oppressive. There was the same contrast in their personal appearance, the first being tall and handsome, the second dwarfish, and almost deformed. Petro Bey, who, after the sub-

mission of his allies, continued to hold out in the mountains of Maina, and to levy contributions on Messenia, was accused of carrying on a correspondence with the Viceroy of Egypt, and the defence he published, in answer to this heavy charge, was rather lame. Without funds of his own, and obliged to live up to his rank, and subsist a crowd of retainers, money was what the Bey coveted; he no doubt intended to cheat Mehemet Ali, and the English loan was a talisman which operated his reconciliation to the Executive. A commission being appointed, at his own request, to sift the allegations of treason brought against him, of course declared them false and calumnious, and his brother Constantine was elevated to a seat in the supreme council. Of Colocotroni himself little was heard for some time; he resided near Karitena in affected privacy, but the sequel proved that, far from being idle, he was cementing an extensive league, and preparing again to have recourse to the sword.

There prevailed at Nauplia a continual bustle, civil and military adventurers, scribes, and parasites flocking thither, heaping adulation on the men in office, and gaping to catch some drops of the golden shower that was at their disposal. Distrusting with reason the Peloponnesian militia, whose chiefs were almost invariably disaffected, the government bought over many obscure captains (Roumeliotes or Bulgarians), lavishly bestowed brevets, conferring the rank of general or lieutenant-general, and authorized them to draw pay and rations for a certain number of soldiers: this part of their duty the officers punctually performed, but they had seldom one-third of the soldiers that ought to have been present under arms.

The establishment of a regular corps was again attempted, but popular prejudice ran so violently against it, that it could not be rendered efficient. High and

low, Primates, Capitanei, and Pallikars, were equally averse to it; the former because they feared it would enable the government to coerce them, and repress peculation; the latter, from an idea common to all irregular troops, that discipline was an intolerable slavery, and an useless farce. "By fighting," said they, "in our own method, we have beaten the Turks for four years; we can do so still, and will not become Franks!" Determined to have, at least in the capital, a force on which it could depend, the Executive ordered the formation of a battalion of Tactiki, but committed a gross mistake at the outset, by discarding the faithful and experienced Gubernati,* and placing at their head its secretary Rhodius, a presumptuous and insignificant personage, without any qualities, physical or moral, to fit him for the situation. As no Greek acquainted with the smell of powder would condescend to enlist, Rhodius enrolled about 400 sickly and starving wretches from the dregs of the populace, ill clothed, ill fed, ill officered, and worse commanded.

The summer of 1824 seemed a propitious time for expelling the Turks out of the Morea, and taking the four fortresses they held there, their squadron being withdrawn from the Corinthian Gulf, and no Ottoman ships or troops ever approaching the peninsula. Yet, owing to their quarrels and inertness, the insurgents were so far from obliging the Moslems to capitulate, that they could not even confine them within their castles. On the 24th of July, a body of cavalry and infantry marching out of Patrass, devastated the village of Lykania, and defeated Sisinis' two sons reinforced by a party of Souliotes; and in November they perpetrated fresh ravages in Elis, and cut to pieces a Greek

* Gubernati, who went to Egypt, and entered into the Pasha's service, had generosity enough to stipulate that he should not be employed against Greece.

detachment, twelve men only escaping out of seventy. On the 8th and 9th of September, the Mainatts of Mourtzinos fought two brisk skirmishes with the garrison of Modon, under the walls of that place.

As both Londos and Sisini withheld the revenues of their districts, under pretence of expending them in the siege of Patrass, and the first had besides drawn from the treasury money and stores to the value of 200,000 piastres for that express purpose, they were loudly blamed: through the organ of the press they tried to clear themselves, and to recriminate by asserting that government neglected the Morea, and reserved its solicitude for the marine.

The malecontents took no decisive step until the elections were over, and the national representatives assembling at Nauplia to the number of sixty, proceeded (October the 18th) to nominate an executive council for the ensuing twelve months, when the island influence so predominated, that Condouriotti, Bottasi, Coletti, and Spigliotaki, were confirmed in their functions, and Asimaki Fotilla of Kalavryta appointed their colleague; Pannouzzas Notaras, and Theodoret, Bishop of Vresthenes, being chosen president and vice-president of the Legislative body. These nominations being equally unsatisfactory to Colocotroni and to the primates, his late opponents, who conceived they would henceforth be vassals of Hydra, they coalesced in a design to overthrow the government, insisting that it was illegal, because not sanctioned by a general assembly. At the head of their movement, which comprehended the whole Peloponnesus (except Maina), were Colocotroni, Zaimis, Londos, the families of Notaras, and Delhiyani, and Sisini of Gastuni, a crafty old hypocrite, who, by procuring the assassination of his rivals, had made himself absolute in Elis, appropriating the revenue of that rich canton, and spending it in riotous living, and un-

bounded hospitality.* Even Fotilla joined in the conspiracy, and secretly quitted Nauplia on the 20th of November, a few days after the death of the vice-president Bottasi, so that two places in the Executive were left vacant, and shortly filled up with the names of Bottasi's brother and Constantine Mavromikhali. Condouriotti having gone to Hydra on account of bad health, Coletti and Spigliotaki remained to conduct the administration, when a proclamation of Colocotroni and Anagnosti Delhiyani (dated November the 24th, from Sulima in Messenia) announced the rebellion of the Morea. The disaffected party relied upon support from beyond the Isthmus, several chiefs having given them a promise to that effect, while others hesitated; if all had performed their engagements, the government must have fallen, which would have been a misfortune, since, however defective, it was the best that could then be formed. That it did not succumb, was owing to the able management of Coletti, and his hold over the minds of the Roumeliotes. Despatching Makriyani to Athens, he prevailed upon Ghouras to break off his correspondence with the Antarts, and declare himself the champion of the Executive body: he likewise gained the Souliotes at Salona, the Olympians at Skopelos and Skiathos; and Mavrocordato keeping Etolia steady in the same interest, all Northern Greece was arrayed against Peloponnesus.

Tripolizza shutting its gates, and refusing to admit the rebels of Karitena, they infested the villages in its neighbourhood, and despoiled the merchants of that town; this brought on a sanguinary action with the garrison (November 23d), in which 170 Greeks are said to have lost their lives; Panos Colocotroni was

* He sometimes proposed jocosely to take the title of Dux Clarensis, from Klarenza, whence the title of Clarence is derived.

slain on the spot, and Captain Staikos, wounded in personal conflict by Demetrius Kalerji, was taken, and sent with sixty prisoners to Nauplia. The minister of the interior, Dikaios Papa Flessa, dispersed a corps of Tzakonians that encamped under Nikitas at Kouzzopodi, and Hadji Christo, forcing the pass of Mount Parthenius, restored the communication with Tripolizza.

Meanwhile Andreas Londos and John Notaras advanced to blockade the Acrocorinthus; but learning the approach of 3000 Roumeliotes, commanded by Ghouras, Kara Tasso, &c., retired to St George, and posted themselves with 800 soldiers in strong and lofty houses.

Ghouras being joined at Corinth by Coletti, to whom his colleagues had delegated the direction of the war, pursued, and endeavouring to dislodge them on the 14th of December, was repulsed with the loss of sixty men: having received, however, from Napoli three pieces of cannon, with which he battered the buildings they occupied, the enemy on the 19th evacuated St George, and got into Mount Cyllene. Ghouras then marching to Trikala, John Notaras, abandoned by his mercenaries, surrendered himself, and was committed to the custody of his uncle the president of the senate, who had not taken any ostensible part in the revolt. Achaia and Elis were quickly overrun by the government troops; Ghouras, at the beginning of January, entered Gastouni in triumph, Sisini escaping to Zante, and his eldest son, Chrysanthos, being arrested. The Souliotes of Tzavella, landing at Vostizza, ascended to the village of Kerpini (above Kalavryta), where Zaimis, his aged father, Londos, and Nikitas, attempted to defend themselves, but after a brief resistance fled, and crossing in an Ionian boat to Anatoliko, implored the protection of the provincial congress, then sitting there. Nikitas met with a kind reception, and resided with Tzongas, a man brave and simple-minded like himself;

his companions, being denied an asylum, went to the Isle of Kalamos. Hadji Christo and Vasso subjugated Karitena, and two columns, under Papa Flessa and Macriyani, invaded Messenia, in order to reduce the mountaineers of Sulima, known in Greece by the appellation of Dreds.* They defeated Dikaios, but being in their turn routed at Melegala † by Makriyani, who had a very inferior force, the rebellion in Peloponnesus was totally quashed. Dejected at his son's death, and the ruin of his party, Colocotroni employed his brother-in-law, Kolliopoulo, who had not compromised himself, to obtain an amnesty for him; and as the government would not treat unless he appeared personally, he arrived at Nauplia, January the 11th, and made his submission. A house was assigned him, and for a few days he and his attendants were suffered to be at large, and wear their arms; whereupon the brothers Delhiyani, and other Antarts came in. Having got them into its power, the Executive determined to take such measures as should prevent them in future from disturbing public tranquillity: accordingly, on the 18th of February, they were, to the number of thirteen, in open daylight, and in the presence of a crowd of spectators, put on board an armed schooner, which conveyed them to Hydra, where they were confined as state prisoners in the monastery of St Elias. When Sisini reached Zante, the people wished to stone him; and the authorities ordering him away, he also in despair repaired to the capital, and was, with his son Chrysanthos, sent to rejoin his associates in their captivity.

Although this second civil war was waged with greater animosity than the former one, it was by no means bloody, the Moreotes opposing a faint resistance to the Roumeliote troops; it was nevertheless highly

* Vide Appendix. † A village near Ithome.

prejudicial to the peninsula, which having been for two years generally exempt from Turkish hostility, had begun to flourish, insomuch that since the revolution, one-third more land was supposed to have been brought into cultivation. Its prosperity was nipped in the bud by the licentiousness of the northern soldiery, who, however reluctant to kill their countrymen, had no scruples about pillage; and not content with plundering the rich properties of Sisini, Zaimis, &c., robbed all classes without distinction.

The press was now in full operation, and we must do Colonel Stanhope the justice to say, that though it did not accomplish all the benefit he expected, yet neither did it produce the bad consequences many persons anticipated: on the whole, it was certainly useful, by praising meritorious actions, lashing selfishness, and introducing something like public opinion. That it had an effect, is demonstrated by the sensibility with which such aristocrats as Sisini and Londos winced under its censures, and the pains they took to defend their characters in long and laboured articles. There were three journals, that of Messalonghi, the Friend of the Laws, edited at Hydra by a Genoese named Chiappe (an official paper), and the Athens Gazette, conducted by George Psyllas, a learned, virtuous, and patriotic young man. The last was chiefly devoted to the encouragement of education, an object dear to the Greeks, and which they were again following with zeal. Their colleges had been destroyed, and the professors and pupils scattered by the events of 1821; but in sundry towns and islands schools were now founded and maintained by voluntary subscription, and the old teachers who survived invited to resume their honourable tasks.

In autumn, a typhus fever, generated by malaria, filth, and a too dense population, proved very deadly

at Nauplia, cutting off, among other victims, the Vice-president Bottasi, and Theodore Negris, who after acquiring by his intrigues an unenviable celebrity, died in obscurity, December the 4th, without being regretted. During the last months of his life, he by writing in the newspapers encomiastic paragraphs, sought in vain to win the good graces of the members of government. Not the least important of the transactions of this year, was a serious dispute betwixt the Greeks and the British authorities in the Mediterranean.

When the former learned that the Viceroy Mehemet Ali was freighting, at Alexandria, European transports, they, to counteract him, and intimidate the masters of merchantmen, published a decree, on the 20th of June, declaring that neutral vessels, laden with Turkish or Egyptian troops and stores, should forfeit the safeguard of their flags, be treated as enemies, and burnt or sunk by the Hellenic cruisers. This comminatory ordinance was never acted upon; but as it opened a door to the worst kind of piracy, the Lord High Commissioner demanded its revocation, and not receiving a satisfactory reply, in obedience to instructions from home, gave notice in a proclamation, dated from Corfu (September the 6th), that until it was recalled, his Britannic Majesty's squadron would detain Greek men-of-war.

Captain Pechell proceeding to Napoli, in the Sybille frigate, communicated on the 3d of October his orders to the Executive body, which immediately repealed the obnoxious decree. In consequence, however, of some delay in the adjustment of that and other points at issue, Captain Pechell seized three schooners, and sent them to Corfu, whence they were not released till reparation had been made for the destruction of a Turkish brig on the coast of Ithaca, a year before.

Notwithstanding this squabble, England lost none

of the popularity for which she was indebted to the altered maxims of the Ionian Republic in the case of blockades, the exertions of the London Committee, and above all, the loan, most of the insurgents looking upon it as a national gift, rather than a debt to be repaid: at each arrival of a shipload of money, they shouted "Zeeto ee Anglia," and became as warmly attached to that power, as they had once bitterly detested her.

A Russian party was indeed kept alive by Colocotroni, Mavromati, Tzuni, Perouka, &c., men of indifferent reputation, labouring in darkness, and holding secret correspondence with Count Capodistria and the ex-metropolitan Ignatius, who from Geneva and Pisa fostered the Machiavellian schemes of the court of St Petersburgh. About the period in question, the Russo-Greeks, alarmed at the marked partiality evinced for English connexion, thought it necessary to throw off their disguise, and enter the lists in a cautious manner. The agent they pitched upon was an old Psarrian, named Varvaki, who had spent great part of his life in Muscovy, and realized a large fortune there. Both he and Kalerji (a Cretan) had repeatedly testified their affection for the cause, by munificent presents of money, artillery, and provisions; and now Vavaki, at the age of seventy-five, revisited his native land, proffering the whole of his wealth, and protesting that his sole desire was to be buried in Grecian earth. There is no room to doubt his patriotism, nor the sincerity of political opinions he had cherished for half a century, having fought against the Turks, in 1771, under the banners of Orloff. Sailing from the Ionian Islands, in November, and touching on his passage at Monemvasia, where he distributed ample succours to the distressed remnant of Psarra, he landed at Nauplia, and suggested to all that would listen to him the propriety of calling Capodistria to the helm of state: but popular ideas

were changed, and those who, in 1821, would have been too happy to swear allegiance to the Autocrat, spurned at Russia, and her protegè. In spite of his promises and splendid donations, Varvaki was ill received, intentional slights were put upon him, and cut to the heart he retired to Syra, and then to Zante, where he soon died. At that very time the Executive was trying to set on foot a diplomatic intercourse with the British cabinet, its secretary Rhodias, having, on the 23d of August, addressed a note to Mr Canning, in which, after alluding to the Russian plan of dismembering Greece into Hospodariats, and the steps England was gradually adopting for the acknowledgment of South American independence, he claimed the same favour for his country. Mr Canning's answer, dated the 1st of December, and couched in frank and friendly terms, is particularly worthy of attention, as we see in it the germs of that conception which brought forth the treaty of the 6th July 1827. Indirectly admitting the reality of the project imputed to Russia, he states that it had given as much offence to the Porte as to Greece; that while both belligerents were obstinately bent on rejecting foreign interference, no mediation could take place; but that his Britannic Majesty would readily employ his good offices to terminate the contest, as soon as they were formally requested.

SECTION III.

HAVING suppressed the troubles in the Morea, and compelled the malecontents to choose between exile and submission, Ghouras seemed inclined to carry matters with a very high hand, to draw up lists of proscription, and to implicate Mavrocordato, when he was suddenly recalled to Roumelia by the movements of the Turks

and Odysseus. The latter, on quitting Nauplia in July, went to the camp of Ampliani, but finding that he was ill-looked upon, that the government commissaries would give him neither pay nor rations, and were encouraging his troops to desert, he retired into the province of Livadia, and there exercised the authority of military commandant. Proud, vindictive, and soured by disappointment, he had recourse to the desperate measure of treating with the Mohammedans; and a truce he concluded with Omer Pasha for the territory of Livadia, was a prelude to more serious and criminal negotiations, as soon as the civil war drained Eastern Greece of its forces.

At the end of January, alarming reports circulated at Athens, of his growing intimacy with the Turks, of conferences held at Negropont, and of their having promised him an extensive Armatolik, secured by an imperial firman; the advance of a body of Ottomans through the straits of Thermopylæ, and the assassination in the country of persons known to be obnoxious to Odysseus, confirmed these rumours, and all uncertainty was cleared up by a letter (dated the 25th of February) which he addressed to the municipality, claiming the release of a Turkish surgeon, and a sum of 14,000 piastres, which he declared himself to have disbursed in provisioning the Acropolis; threatening, if they demurred, to burn their olive-trees and green corn. The Athenian primates, in reply, referred him to government, prepared for defence, and pressed Ghouras to return without delay. At the same time, Odysseus wrote to the Megarians, bidding them be of good cheer, and fear nothing, as the aim of his hostility was to procure redress for the wrongs the Athenians had done him. On the night of the 14th of March, a band of his soldiers, mixed with Turks, broke into, and cruelly

ravaged the villages on the borders of Attica and Bœotia.

On the 15th, Ghouras arrived, and being rejoined by the corps that were following him from Peloponnesus, marched out on the 24th, in the direction of Dobrena and Platea, to give battle to Odysseus, who being too weak to engage him, in spite of a reinforcement of 300 Ottoman horse and Arnauts, retreated to Livanates, on the sea-shore near Talanta, and caused his brother Yanaki to occupy the convent of St George in front of that position. An action took place on the 12th of April, in which the Hellenes had the advantage, and next day Yanaki was forced to surrender with sixty men ; however, Ghouras conceiving that he did not approve of his brother's conduct, sent him to Livanates with proposals of accommodation.

Odysseus already repented of his rashness in allying himself with the crescent, which shocked his Greek adherents to such a degree, that not only officers and soldiers, but even his private secretary fled from him ; he was the most distrustful of mortals, perfectly acquainted with the habitual treachery of the Turks, whom he had so often deceived, and into whose hands he had now unwarily put his person ; and he knew that if he remained with them, sooner or later, his head would grace the Sultan's porch. In despair he resolved to abandon the infidels, and, going out on the 20th, under pretence of reconnoitring, repaired to the camp of Ghouras, who committed him a close prisoner to a tower in the Acropolis of Athens, and continued the siege of Livanates, where the Mussulmans, enraged at the defection of Odysseus, massacred the few Christians still in their power.

Abbas Pasha, who commanded at Zeituni, marched to Turcokhori, and being successfully opposed by the Greeks of Stathi Kazzikoyani, and Griziotti, after

some sharp fighting ascended the course of the Cephisus to Gravia; and this movement obliging Ghouras to hasten towards Salona, the garrison of Livanates escaped by cutting its way through the besiegers.

On taking the field, Odysseus deposited his family in his den on Mount Parnassus, which he confided to the guard of Trelawny, (who had lately married his youngest sister,) with a handful of men; for that singular cavern is utterly impregnable, and when the ladders that give access to it are removed, neither armies nor trains of artillery could make any impression.* Being led to a spot where he could be recognised from the cave, the captive chieftain was compelled to sign an order for its surrender, but his brother-in-law disregarded the instrument, on the plea that it was extorted by violence.

The rest of Odysseus's history is soon told; he had been guilty of so many barbarous deeds, and had stirred up such a multitude of deadly enemies, that the only guarantee for his life lay in the gratitude of Ghouras, who for a short time struggled to save his early patron; but, being devoid of judgment, and swayed by the people about him, at length yielded a reluctant assent to his death. On the 17th of June, the rising sun disclosed the lifeless body of Odysseus stretched at the foot of the tower that had been his prison; it was said, that a rope by which he was lowering himself down had broke, and that he was killed by the fall; however, no one gave credit to this story, and it was rather supposed that he had been strangled, and then thrown from the top. Ghouras subsequently felt remorse for the

* It is at a perpendicular height of 150 feet from the bottom of a precipice, and sheltered above by a lofty arch; in front were natural bulwarks concealing the interior, and a portal cut in the rock, to which three flights of ladders gave access; within were houses, magazines stored for the consumption of years, and a fine spring of water.

death of his former friend, heard with pain the mention of his name, and occasionally murmured, "in that business I was misled!"*

In the same month, an attempt was made to murder Trelawny by two of his own countrymen, one of whom (Fenton), a determined villain, having accepted a bribe from the government, seduced the other, a crackbrained young man, into complicity, by extravagant tales, and the perpetual excitement of potent liquors. Although pierced through the back, with two carbine balls fracturing his arm and his jaw, the wonderful vigour of his constitution enabled Trelawny to recover, and Captain Hamilton, having interposed his mediation, he was allowed to go on board an English ship of war, which carried him and his wife to Cefalonia. In the midst of his agony, he had the magnanimity to dismiss unhurt the unhappy youth who fired at him; as for Fenton, the prime assassin, he was instantly shot by an Hungarian soldier. There can be no doubt that Mavrocordato was at the bottom of these tragical events, instigated fully as much by revenge as care for the public weal; Odysseus was undeniably a tyrant and a traitor; Trelawny in open rebellion, and suspected of tampering with the Turks, who were very anxious to get possession of the cave; but all this might have been forgiven, had they not previously been the personal foes of the Director-general of Western Greece.

The cavern was ultimately delivered up to government, and an amnesty granted to Odysseus's family.

* In the papers of the deceased Dr Vitali, (a Sicilian physician, then residing at Athens,) the author found an account of a post mortem examination of Odysseus's body, which the authorities enjoined upon him; it is not, however, worth extracting, as it merely states the existence of compound fractures of the temporal bones, right shoulder, ribs, and thigh, the natural consequences of falling or being cast from a height of 108 feet.

We shall finish this chapter with two short notices relative to the statistics of Attica. According to a census taken in November, the population of the town of Athens numbered 9040 souls; and a printed account, authenticated by the Ephors, makes the gross revenue of Attica, collected in eight months, from July 1824 to February 1825, amount to 120,000 piastres, then about L.2000 sterling.*

* In ancient times, after the battle of Cheronœa, and when the foreign colonies were lost, the annual revenue of the republic exceeded L.220,000.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK IV.—CHAP. III.

(No. I.—) * *Statement of what passed between Makriyani and the Dreds.*

THE Dreds are an Albanian tribe of shepherds, inhabiting the town of Suleima and the famous Mount Ida, and are reputed to be extremely brave and fierce.

Makriyani being sent with 300 soldiers to reduce them, dispersed two-thirds of his men in different villages, and with the rest occupied Meligala. Two days after the Dreds advanced to the number of 2000,† their chiefs richly dressed and mounted on fine horses, and summoned him to retire: the following colloquy then took place with their leader.

D. "What do you here? Don't you know that we freed this country, and its goods are ours? Were you a true man, you would have gone to Roumelia, your native land."

M. "What you say is just, but the Turks entering Roumelia every year, leave us nothing; if they come to Kalamata, we will do what we can for you: here at least we spend our money."

D. "We want none of your money; be off as fast as you can, and do not tread our sacred soil."

M. "But I am a patriot, and the government has sent me here."

D. "Ah! the Dreds recognise no government."

M. "But I do."

D. "In that case you are welcome; however, we shall save you the trouble of going back: your guns and pistols are better than ours, and the Lord has delivered them into our hands; it is a pity you are so few."

* We give this curious scene in Makriyani's own words, as set down in his MS. journal, written with all the simplicity and frankness of a Roumeliote Pallikar.

† Doubtless an exaggeration; the Greeks are never to be trusted for numbers.

M. "That gives me little concern, since I came here to be killed, or make you know the government, without which we cannot go on; and if I am to die, better now than after years of suffering; as for our arms, praised be the Lord, they are porcupines, and sting outlaws."

D. "We shall soon see that."

M. "Be quiet to-night, and I will write to Papa Flessa, who is in the neighbourhood, with plenty of money to reward your services."

They agreed to do so, but finding this was a trick, next day repulsed Papa Flessa, and surrounded Makriyani, who, attacking sword in hand, put them to flight, and took a standard and standard-bearer. After skirmishing and negotiating for a few days, being afraid of having their houses burnt, they submitted.

BOOK FIFTH.

CHAP. I.

Character and Plans of the Greek Government—Invasion of Peloponnesus by Ibrahim Pasha, and campaign of 1825 in that Peninsula.

SECTION I.

THE government existing in Greece at the beginning of the year 1825 was infinitely stronger, and far more respectable, than any of those which preceded it since the revolution broke out; its domestic adversaries were crushed, the whole country acknowledged its authority, the military and naval forces obeyed its commands, and its exchequer was well filled. The first English loan was not yet exhausted, and (strange to say!) the deputies in London had, on the 19th of February, contracted a second one with the house of Ricardo, for L.2,000,000 sterling, at the rate of 55½ per cent; so that there was no fear of wanting money for some time.

Condouriotti (the president) was in private life a good-humoured, jovial personage; but he had little capacity for public business, being dull, obstinate, ignorant, and wrapped up in Hydriote prejudices: his integrity was allowed by all parties, his vast wealth setting him above the temptation or suspicion of fraud; but he gave himself no trouble to check peculation in others. The Vice-president, Ghika Bottasi, did not

differ much in character from Condouriotti; Constantine Mavromikhali, though a brave warrior, was unfit for a place in the Executive, and Spigliotaki a cipher. There was, however, in the supreme council one very able man, John Coletti, a native of Pindus, and formerly physician to Ali Pasha; exceedingly popular among the Roumeliotes, and hated in proportion by the people of the Morea, whose recent revolt he had so quickly suppressed. Both he and Mavrocordato possessed talent enough to administer the affairs of Greece, but unfortunately they would not agree to share their power; indeed we are firmly persuaded that jealousy of Coletti induced the latter to grasp at the post of secretary of state.

Mavrocordato had greater learning, more polished manners, was a more accomplished linguist, penman, and diplomatist, and much better acquainted with the state of Europe and the Ottoman empire. Coletti, who spoke and wrote the French and Italian languages, was not inferior to his rival in natural acuteness, and he balanced every disadvantage of education by the skill he had acquired at Yannina in dealing with the military chiefs. His carriage was somewhat repulsive, and Europeans at first sight gave the preference to Mavrocordato, who followed their customs; but Coletti knew better how to manage Albanians and Roumeliotes, whose dress, which he always wore, set off his tall, commanding figure. Condouriotti, suspended between the two, finished by resigning himself to the gentler guidance of the Fanariote; nevertheless, the latter, after triumphing over Ypsilanti, Colocotroni, and Odysseus, now met a political opponent whom he could never vanquish. As though no Egyptians had been ready to pounce upon Peloponnesus with the first breezes of spring, nothing was talked of at the seat of government but the immediate reduction of Patrass.

In November, a squadron of six or eight vessels had gone to blockade the Corinthian Gulf, and when the conclusion of civil war rendered them disposable, all the troops in the peninsula, amounting, on paper at least, to 12,000 men, were ordered to invest that fortress. The insurgents were at this period very nigh effecting its conquest; for the Turks in garrison there, straitened by a sea and land blockade, bore their privations with impatience, and offered to cede the place, provided the King of the Greeks, as they called Condouriotti, would come to the camp and sign a capitulation. The president prepared for the journey, but being heavy, and averse to locomotion, was so tardy that he let the opportunity slip.

In Turkey and Egypt, the Mohammedans turned the winter to better account, equipping ships, levying men, laying up magazines of ammunition and provisions, and making every disposition for a vigorous campaign. That nothing might distract his views from Greece, the Sultan assented to the unqualified evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia, and in consequence Mintshaky, who had hitherto acted only as consul, at a formal audience of the Reis Effendi, on the 11th of December, presented his letters of credence as Russian minister. Another affair, that happened three or four months before, and might have proved troublesome, ended entirely to the satisfaction of the Porte. A part of the Servians, attached to the memory of Czerni George, and abhorring the neutrality of their Prince Milosh, took up arms, but sustained a total defeat, which broke their strength. Moreover, Sultan Mahmoud, who for the last three years had been very ill served by the satraps commanding his forces in Roumelia, was fortunate enough to pitch upon an officer, (Reshid Mehemet Pasha,) endowed with zeal, courage, and wisdom; so that the Hellenes had for the first

time to contend at once against two good generals. Khosref Pasha, whom they despised, continued to preside over the Ottoman marine, and, however deficient in valour, showed activity in getting the fleet ready for sea. As experience had demonstrated the inutility of employing line-of-battle ships, they remained in the Bosphorus, and a fine new double-banked frigate was launched, and fitted up for the Capitan Pasha's reception. Ibrahim meanwhile was indefatigable, being assured that his father would support him with men and money to any possible extent, and himself so earnest in his purpose, that, although his health suffered from living so long on shipboard, he would not land in Candia, having sworn not to set his foot upon earth until he reached the Morea. After spending a fortnight in the harbour of Suda, he sailed on the 23d of December, with thirty-seven ships of war and most of his transports; touched at Rhodes, January the 1st; proceeded to Makry and Marmorice, and having received supplies from Egypt, and embarked 5000 troops that were waiting for him, returned to Suda, and still further recruited his army by taking into pay a body of Candiote Mussulmans. Thus the losses he had met with at sea and by disease were fully compensated. His voyage was unmolested, save by a Spezziote schooner, which, falling in with his convoy off Rhodes on the 2d of February, took one transport, and, finding the prize to be a heavy sailer, burnt her.

His preparations being completed, the Pasha resolved to invade the Morea without delay, although it was then the depth of winter in Greece, February being there the worst month in the year. It was indeed incumbent upon him to use dispatch, if he wished to save Patrass and the castles, which must have surrendered unless speedily relieved. The insurgents had advice of his intention, but, unwilling to part with the hope of

so important an acquisition, kept their armed vessels at the mouth of the gulf instead of sending them to cruise in the Cretan Sea, and, without succeeding in their object, threw away all chance of stopping the Egyptians.

On the 23d and 24th of February 1825, days pregnant with sorrow to Peloponnesus, above fifty sail of men-of-war and transports arrived at Modon; and the Pasha, landing with 4000 foot and 400 horse, formed a camp of 400 tents in the adjacent plain, and next morning advanced to reconnoitre Navarin, which is two leagues distant. After surveying it from the heights, he retired again, and ordered his vessels back to Suda to bring him reinforcements. A corps of Greeks hastily entered the fort, and the Mainatts and Messenian peasantry skirmished a little with the enemy, who destroyed several villages, and occasionally lost a small number of stragglers. The Egyptian fleet weighed from Suda on the 13th of March, and on the 17th disembarked at Modon a second division of 7000 men, including the rest of the cavalry, which, when united, did not count more than 800 horses.

Ibrahim then, feeling himself strong enough to besiege Navarin, took up a position before it on the 21st. He at the same time detached three frigates, two corvettes, and six brigs to the Corinthian Gulf, and this squadron, passing Zante on the 27th, gave convoy to nine Austrian merchantmen, and one Russian laden with rice and flour, and accompanied them to Patrass, four insurgent vessels, and as many mistiks that were blockading it, running from them along the coast of Acarnania. Some days previous, a Turkish captain, named Mahmoud, commanding a ten-gun brig, had, in the face of the Greek cruisers, escorted thither several craft from Prevesa. As soon as Patrass was provision-

ed, the enemy's naval force went once more to Crete, to take on board fresh troops and stores.

We must now turn to the Greeks, and enquire what they were doing. Notwithstanding their previous information of Ibrahim's designs, his arrival had the effect of a surprise upon them: no precautions had been thought of to secure Navarin; their ships were either in the waters of Patrass or the ports of Hydra and Spezzia, and most of their soldiery in the northern parts of Peloponnesus. Ghouras, alarmed by the alliance of Odysseus with the Turks, was just beginning his retrograde march to Attica, and Coletti was recalled to the capital through the envy of his colleagues; an injudicious step at that moment, and very unpalatable to the Roumeliotes. Considerable activity was, however, displayed in preparing to make head against the Egyptians; from Achaia the troops filed off towards Messenia, Constantine Metaxa went as commissary-general to Zante with 30,000 dollars to purchase supplies, and orders were given to expedite the sailing of the squadrons; in consequence of violent north-east winds, the first division, under Miaulis, did not put to sea until the middle of March. Kolliopoulo, with about 2000 men, was left in the camp before Patrass, and a few cruisers remained at the mouth of the gulf, but, as we have seen, to no purpose.

The president of the Executive, who for near two months had been speaking of taking the field, set out from Nauplia, March the 28th, in great pomp, bestriding a beautiful Arabian steed richly caparisoned and led by six grooms, attended by a numerous suite, by his counsellor Mavrocordato, and carrying in his baggage a million and a half of piastres. Unaccustomed to riding, that exercise fatigued him so much, that he was three days in journeying to Tripolizza, where he fell sick, and did not reach Scala on the Pamisus

till the 17th of April, when he halted, flatly refusing to trust his head nearer to the foe. Since the descent of the Egyptians, for upwards of a month only slight actions had occurred, but on the 27th of March there was a severe engagement, Ibrahim having caused two columns of Arabs to advance; one against the Macedonians of Kara Tasso intrenched at the hamlet of Kalivia, the other in the direction of Old Navarin. The first column was received with a heavy fire of musketry, and repeatedly driven back till night, when Kara Tasso evacuated the hamlet; the second had a smart encounter with Hadji Christo, who sallied forth to meet them, but was beaten. An hundred and fifty Greeks were killed, and John Mavromikhali (son to Petro Bey), a brave young man, expired at Arkhadia two days after, a wound in the arm that he got on this occasion having mortified. The Arabs also suffered heavily, and 100 of their European muskets were picked up on the field of battle, and sent to Tripolizza.

It behoved the Pasha, now that he was fairly in contact with the insurgents, to strike terror into them, and fix his reputation by the eclat of rapid success; but there were circumstances connected with the localities of the place he was besieging, which rendered his operations tedious.

In the Fourth Chapter we have described the situation of Navarin or Neocastron (as the Greeks term it), its capacious basin sheltered by the isle of Sphacteria, its double entrance, and the precipitous height and ruined castle of Zanchio or Old Navarin on the northern side, separated by a narrow and shallow channel from the loftiest part of Sphacteria. New Navarin is divided into the town and citadel, the latter a small hexagon occupying the point of the promontory; forty pieces of cannon defended its stone ramparts, which, having neither ditch nor covered way, were unmasked to the

very bottom of he wall. When the Egyptians first approached, it hardly contained 150 armed men, but Ibrahim not having thought fit to storm, and the sea being open to the Greeks, as well as the communication across the harbour, they quickly replenished its magazines, and threw in a garrison of 1500 Mainatts, Roumeliotes, and Kranidiotes, with a company of regular artillery embodied by Emanuel Kalerji, and another of Cefalonians,* who assisted in serving the guns. The foot-soldiers obeyed their own particular captains, the most distinguished of whom were the Beyzadè George Mavromikhali, Yatrako of Mistra, and Makriyani: Major Collegno, a Piedmontese officer of engineers, directed the defence, and Demetrius Sakhtouri (brother to the vice-admiral) was named commandant of the place.

A Venetian aqueduct, conducting a fine stream into the town, the enemy immediately cut off; however, the garrison had four cisterns (the largest of which they early and improvidently exhausted), and two Zantiote barks, hired by Metaxa, conveyed water daily from Zanchio, where the Bishop of Modon and Hadji Christo were stationed with above 1000 Bulgarians, Arkhadiotes, and Dreds, but without so much as one cannon. After completing the investment, Ibrahim raised two batteries; one of two mortars on the road to Modon; the other, of five battering guns and a mortar, farther to the west. This last, intended as a breaching battery, was at too great a distance and ill placed, playing upon the curtain at the junction of the town and citadel; but the fault did not lie with the Pasha, but his engineer, who was betraying him and corresponding

* Commanded by the brave Spiro Pannas; desperately wounded, and taken in a sortie, he recovered through the humane attention of a French officer in the Egyptian army, who had been his comrade at Petta. He died soon after of disease in his own island.

with the insurgents.* Nevertheless a practicable breach was soon effected, and the shot and shells annoyed the besieged, protected only by bad casemates.

The Egyptians essayed some fruitless attempts upon Old Navarin, especially on the 11th of April, when they were repulsed with loss; and at the same moment, the Greeks in the new castle sallying out, and rushing on the Arabs sword in hand, killed many, and pushed them into a ravine; at length fresh forces advancing compelled the former to retire to the fort.

Meanwhile 6000 or 7000 men, the flower of Hellenic Pallikars, were collected in the enemy's rear at Kromidi, two leagues from Modon, and there were amongst them sixteen Roumeliote chiefs, (Bozzaris, Tzavella, Karaiskaki, Kara Tasso, &c.) famous for their prowess; yet Condouriotti absurdly placed at their head the Hydriote Skourti, who knew nothing of land service. They proposed to intercept the road betwixt Modon and Navarin, but Ibrahim anticipated them, by attacking their position on the morning of the 19th, with 3000 infantry and 400 horse, supported by a discharge of shot and shells from four pieces of artillery. The Greeks, disposed in a half circle, with Tzavella and Kara Tasso on the right, and Bozzaris on the left, for some time opposed a spirited resistance, but discipline overcame them; the Arabs having pierced their centre with fixed bayonets, while the cavalry, galloping up a ravine deemed inaccessible, dashed in upon their flank, they were routed, and left at least 600 dead on the field. Costa Bozzaris, surrounded by horse, cut his way through; but most of his Souliote

* This fact we have learned from his own letters to the Neapolitan general, Rossarol: he was detected, and sent in chains to Egypt, but Mohammed Ali contented himself with dismissing him the service. It was not apparently any prospect of lucre, so much as a predilection for the Greek cause, that actuated the engineer.

relations, and the chosen soldiers of his brother Mark, sacrificed their lives in rescuing him.

This battle established at once the superiority of the Egyptian troops, and secured the Pasha against any chance of seeing the progress of the siege interrupted. Elated by victory, he, on the 20th, risked an assault upon Old Navarin, which ended in discomfiture, and an useless carnage of his Arabs. The defeat of Kromidi embittering the rancour that subsisted between the Roumeliotes and Moreotes, the former determined to return to Northern Greece: they were disgusted with Coletti's recall, and Skourti's appointment; they had proved the Egyptians, and did not like them, and the Roumeli Valesi's advance threatened the safety of their families. In spite of the president's remonstrances, they marched away, (not, however, until they had bullied him into paying up part of their arrears,) and on the 30th halted at Argos, to the number of 3000, on their way to Corinth and Vostizza. Their departure precluded every hope of succouring Navarin from the land side, but as yet it was not blockaded by sea; Captain Tzamados had entered the port with eight brigs, and it was thought the fleet might do something for its relief. Miaulis, steering towards Crete, experienced a tempest off Cerigo, which dismasted two of his ships, and obliged him to come to an anchor at Vatika;* apprized by his scouts (April the 20th) that the Egyptians were under weigh, he stood after them and exchanged a few shots, but a fresh storm compelled him to put back, and the enemy returned to Suda, where thirty-eight transports laden with provisions had just arrived from Alexandria. On the 28th the Greek Navarch again fell in with the Mohammedan navy,

* An excellent roadstead in Laconia, opposite to the north point of Cerigo.

consisting of ninety sail, and commanded by the Capitana Bey, Ibrahim Gibraltar having died two months before on his voyage to Egypt. Although the enemy had ten frigates, six corvettes, and more than thirty brigs of war, Miaulis, with seventeen armed vessels and five fire-ships, endeavoured to cut them off from the Morea: calms and light winds prevented his brulots from acting effectually, three of them were burnt on the night of the 29th, and the Capitana Bey fetching Modon, (May the 1st,) landed 4000 soldiers, besides artillery and stores.

During the last week of April, the garrison of Navarin had been employed in digging a trench behind the breach, in expectation of an assault. Ibrahim, however, was unwilling to storm, because he was certain of encountering a desperate resistance, and apprehended that the Greeks would fire the powder magazine: he proposed rather to make himself master of Sphacteria, as the only sure means of reducing the fortress. The insurgents suspected his design, and Mavrocordato, leaving Condouriotti at Calamata, went on the 6th of May with a small party of Cretans to old Navarin, in order to assist in defending the isle; a step savouring of rashness, but highly honourable to him.

On the morning of the 7th, fifty-two Egyptian men-of-war appeared at the mouth of the haven, and a column of troops marched upon the village of Petrokhori, in front of Zanchio: these last were checked by the Greek tirailleurs, and Miaulis approaching with his squadron, and cannonading from a distance, the enemy on that day accomplished nothing. Convinced that a more serious attack would follow, Mavrocordato, at night, conducted in person a reinforcement into the isle, which was then occupied by 350 men, partly soldiers, and partly sailors drawn from the vessels within the port; they had batteries mounting eight guns and a

mortar, but neither intrenchments nor a corps of reserve. The principal officers were, the veteran Anagnostoras, Stavro Shahini of Hydra, Tzamados, and Demetrius Sakhtouri, commandant of Neocastron, both of whom voluntarily joined Mavrocordato in that post of danger. There, too, was seen in the garb and arms of a simple Pallikar, the brave and amiable Count Santa Rosa, who, exiled from Piedmont, had lately repaired to Greece, in company with Collegno. At noon, on the 8th, the Egyptian brigs commenced a heavy fire against Sphacteria, while their frigates and corvettes formed a line to oppose Miaulis, who lay in the offing, unable to advance for want of wind; amidst the smoke, fifty launches, full of Arabs and Candiote Turks, rowed ashore, and in an hour the Moslems carried the island, and put almost all the Greeks to the sword. Mavrocordato, with his secretary Grasset, escaped as it were by miracle in a boat to Tzamados' brig; and Sakhtouri, plunging into the waves under a shower of balls swam on board her, but Anagnostoras, Shahini, Tzamados himself, and Santa Rosa, were numbered among the dead: the latter retiring into a cave, and refusing to surrender, was run through the body by a Maltese renegado. Zafiropoulo of Astros, a member of the legislative body, who had come to ransom his brother, taken at the battle of Kromidi, was the prisoner of most note: both soon after obtained their liberty in exchange for some Turkish captives.* This was a severe blow to Hydra, which lost ninety mariners, and in Anagnosti Tzamados perhaps her very best captain. Of the eight vessels in the harbour, seven got under weigh, and, favoured by a breeze, gained the open sea, but Tzamados' brig, the Mars, still remained at anchor, the sailors being anxious to save their captain; assured

* One of these was the ancient Vayvode of Kalavryta, detained since 1821.

at length of his death they cut their cables, and Sakhtouri assumed the command. Nothing could be more forlorn than the condition of this solitary eighteen gun-brig, under the necessity of fighting her way through the whole of the enemy's fleet drawn up at the mouth of the channel, and prepared to intercept her; particularly as the wind began to fail, and the Arabs turned the cannon on the island against her. Hardly were the Hydriotes fairly outside, when a frigate, a corvette, and two brigs, surrounded and fired upon them: one brig attempted to board, but was beaten off with grape shot. In fine, after standing for six hours, and with thirty-four ships of war, an action which can scarcely be paralleled in history, the Mars got clear of the foe. She was much damaged in rudder, hull, and rigging, but had only two of her crew killed, and seven wounded, including Demetrius Sakhtouri, to whose skill and courage the performance of this feat was chiefly due. Once, when all prospect of escape seemed to have vanished, the seamen were on the point of blowing her up, and the chance of their doing so no doubt deterred the Egyptians from coming to close quarters. During six hours of mortal agony, Mavrocordato sat in the cabin, holding a pistol, which might save him the ignominy of being sent in bonds to Constantinople: he uttered no word, except now and then a brief sentence expressive of the vanity of ambition, and a resolution, if he survived, to retire to private life; a sentiment as fleeting as the peril. Having rejoined Condouriotti at Calamata, they sailed for Napoli in a Spezziote schooner.

It was not long before Miaulis found an opportunity of avenging the disaster of Sphacteria. A part of Ibrahim's fleet and convoy having gone into Modon, whose port, representing the shape of a horse-shoe, is sheltered to the south by the island of Sapienza, the Greek admiral,

on the evening of the 12th, took advantage of a fine south-east wind to pass between it and the main, braving a cannonade from the squadron and batteries, and pushed forwards six fire-ships which were steered into the midst of the Egyptians. His success was complete, for the enemy cutting their cables, and the same breeze that carried the Greeks in preventing them from getting out, they ran foul of each other, and drifted under the walls of Modon, where one large frigate, three corvettes, three brigs of war, and several transports, (in all about twenty sail,) were totally consumed, as well as a magazine of provisions in the town. Three European merchantmen extricated themselves, and ran in a shattered plight to Zante, while Miaulis, who did not lose a single bruloteer, went to anchor at Marathonisi, in the Gulf of Kolokythia. His dispatches announcing the event cheered the Greek people, and counteracted the shock they were soon to receive from intelligence of the fall of Navarin, which was now become inevitable.

The loss of Sphacteria was a precursor to that of Zanchio, a castle seated on a tongue of land, and only to be approached by two narrow sandy necks confined betwixt the sea, the harbour, and a salt-water pool in the midst. Cannonading it from their ships, the battery in the island, and one erected on the mainland, the enemy renewed their assaults with vigour on the 9th, and although repulsed at one isthmus, gained possession of the other, as well as a spring of fresh water which was the sole dependence of the garrison after the capture of Sphacteria. As they had been, moreover, in the habit of receiving from thence their daily rations, they were left without bread; and their supply of ammunition was so nearly expended, that on the 9th many of them fought with stones, reserving their few cartridges for the last extremity. Farther resistance being impossible, the Greeks endeavoured in the night to cut

their way through the hostile lines, but were charged by cavalry and driven back. Both Hadji Christo (whose horse stuck in a quagmire) and Gregory bishop of Modon were taken alive, and the latter, whom the Turks held responsible for the massacre at Navarin, in 1821, was loaded with every kind of outrage, his beard being plucked out by the roots.* Deprived of their leaders, and fainting from hunger and thirst, the troops in the castle joyfully accepted a capitulation which the Pasha had the generosity to grant them, but which their stout defence of six weeks in a heap of loose stones, without artillery, well deserved; and marching out on the 10th, to the number of 786, under Captain Lucas, and the American Philhellene Jervis, laid down their arms, and, being escorted a few miles into the country by a party of horse, were dismissed.

Master of Old Navarin, the island, and the port, Ibrahim redoubled his efforts against Neocastron, whose garrison had but a scanty stock of water and provisions, and no more than twenty barrels of gunpowder, a large quantity of ammunition intended for their use having been left through unpardonable negligence on board the Hydriote vessels. The Egyptians raised four new batteries, so that by the morning of the 15th, forty-six pieces of cannon and ten mortars played upon the town from the land side, while eleven frigates, or corvettes, and five brigs, anchored within pistol-shot, battered the northern face, pulverizing the buildings, silencing the fire of the ramparts, and causing frequent casualties. Supposing the besieged might be inclined to surrender, the Pasha, on the 12th, sent a flag of truce accompanied by Hadji Christo and the Bishop of Modon, when Makriyani going out, they unfolded their message, making, however, signs of a contrary import. This

* He died in a dungeon some months after.

summons was rejected, as well as a proposal communicated on the 14th, by three Turkish officers, that the garrison should be allowed to depart without arms. George Mavromikhali, Yatrako, and Makriyani, being deputed to confer with them, insisted on retaining their arms, the payment of their arrears, European shipping to carry them away, and the release of the bishop and Hadji Christo; terms that of course Ibrahim would not listen to. Meanwhile the distress of the besieged increased, the cannonade and bombardment was incessant, water meted out drop by drop, and the soldiers began to mutiny. At length, on the 18th, three captains went to the Pasha's tent, and concluded a convention on the following conditions.*

I. That the troops should lay down their arms.

II. That they should be transported to Calamata in neutral vessels, and at the besiegers' expense.

III. That thirty officers should keep their swords.

Five days elapsed ere they gave up the place, and sundry difficulties were started, proceeding from the excessive and (as Colonel Sevè justly observed) unreasonable suspicion of the insurgents, since it would have been the height of impolicy in Ibrahim, by violating the capitulation, to have rendered every other garrison more obstinate. During the interval of debate, an English frigate being descried at sea, a Cyprian soldier boldly swam out to her under the fire of the Egyptians, with a letter begging the presence and interference of some European ships of war; and in consequence of that application the French schooner Amaranthe, and the Austrian schooner Arethusa, arrived at Navarin. On the 23d, forty Mussulmans took possession of the

* For an account of their conference and divers particulars connected with the surrender of Navarin, see the Appendix to this Chapter.

artillery, and the Greeks commenced their evacuation; but when 200 of them had filed off before the Pasha's battalions drawn up in order of battle, an alarm of treachery arising, they shut the gates, and threatened the lives of the Turks whom they had admitted. However, the French and Austrian captains coming ashore with the Cyprian, of whose fate his comrades had hitherto been ignorant, all was arranged, and the insurgents, going on board the transports freighted for them, were landed at Calamata. Those who laid down their arms amounted to 1180, and they left in the fort water for four days' consumption, and bread for ten. Ibrahim behaved with courtesy to the officers, giving them his hand to kiss; this, which he considered as a mark of condescension, was to them a poignant mortification. In one respect he infringed the capitulation, detaining the Beyzadè George and Yatrako as hostages for the two Pashas confined at Nauplia, and for whom they were exchanged in September, through Captain Hamilton's mediation; it is alleged by the Greeks, that the Arabs kidnapped sixty-three of their soldiers.

Having no immediate occasion for his fleet after the surrender of Navarin, the Egyptian general ordered it to return to Suda, effect a junction with that of the Capitan Pasha, and embark some thousand Albanian troops remaining in Candia. Off Cape Matapan, on the morning of the 26th, the Capitana Bey fell in with Miaulis, who had refreshed his squadron at Vatika, and being strengthened by several armed vessels and fireships, was, with forty sail, looking out for the enemy. Light winds, adverse to the bruloteers, did not afford him an opportunity of attacking to advantage, but by manœuvring and cannonading, (sometimes at the distance of three miles,) he retarded them for six days, until, on the 1st of June, the Egyptians doubled Cape

Spada, and he bore away towards Vatika, rather disappointed at this result.*

In another quarter, brilliant success crowned the second division of the Greek marine, composed of twenty brigs and eight fire-ships, which had been cruising for two months in the Archipelago under Sakhtouri, to oppose the Constantinopolitan navy.

Khosref Pasha, on the 4th of May, dropped down in his double-banked frigate of sixty-six guns from Byzantium to the Hellespont, where two frigates, six corvettes, and fifty brigs small craft and Austrian transports awaited him, and two more corvettes followed soon after. To furnish him with marines, besides a body of Asiatic recruits assembled in the Troad, the Porte had levied 800 Zaporogian Kossacks, expert boatmen and intrepid soldiers. Expelled from Russia by the Empress Catharine, and protected by the Sultan, their tribe, settled in Bithynia, and on the Lower Danube, enjoyed many privileges, and in time of war formed the Grand Vizier's cavalry guard; nevertheless, in the campaign of 1828, those living near the Black Sea went over with their Hetman to the Emperor Nicholas. As the Capitan Pasha's ultimate destination was to assist at the siege of Messalonghi, he took on board a vast quantity of ammunition, projectiles, platforms, and scaling-ladders; however, the Greeks expected that in passing he would attempt either Hydra or Samos. Sakhtouri was at the latter island, when he learned that the Ottoman admiral had put to sea on the 24th of May, and instantly went in pursuit of him. Whilst the Turks, baffled by contrary gales, were beating through the strait betwixt Andros and Eubœa, (June the 1st,) the Greeks came up with them, broke

* The Greeks assert that the Egyptians navigated their ships better than the Turks, and therefore it was not so easy to destroy them at sea; but that their gunnery was still worse.

their line, and sent brulots amongst them. Two of these (a Hydriote and Spezziote) perceiving that the sixty-six gun frigate had carried away her topmasts, and was almost unmanageable, grappled and blew her up, with 800 sailors and bombardiers, the treasure of the fleet, and the Capitan Pasha's flag; his person he had previously transferred to a smaller ship; three of the bruloteers were killed in this exploit, and four wounded. To the left of the Christians, another fire-ship destroyed, in like manner, a frigate of thirty-four guns, and 300 men. The Mussulmans then fled in all directions; twenty of their vessels sought shelter in Karysto; and Khosref Pasha, running to the south, within sight of Hydra, got into Suda on the 8th, with thirty-six sail. Five Austrian transports were captured, laden with 1300 barrels of powder, siege-guns, and a variety of military stores, destined for the Roumeli Valesi. A fine corvette, chased by two Greek brigs, was wrecked on the rocks of Syra, and burnt by her captain, who, landing with his crew, upwards of 200 strong, and well armed, tamely surrendered, on a vague promise of quarter, to the unwarlike inhabitants, who came out to meet him with a white flag, ready to submit if he had put a bold face on the matter. Twenty-five Franks belonging to the ship's company, and as many Turks, were soon after put to death by the populace, and the rest of the prisoners conveyed to Hydra.

Miaulis and Sakhtouri, uniting their squadrons off Falkonera, on the 4th proceeded with seventy sail to Milo. There being informed that the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were crowded together in a disorderly mass at Suda, they laid a plan for burning them; but unluckily a French royal schooner, which came to water at Milo, penetrated their design, and hastened to advertise the infidels, so that when the insurgents arrived, instead of the confusion they were led to expect, they

found the enemy on their guard, and disposed in four divisions, in the outer and inner harbours. At mid-day of the 14th, the Greeks, standing in with a light north-easterly breeze, after a short but hot cannonade, obliged the advanced division of forty frigates, corvettes, and brigs, to retire within the channel connecting the two ports. Two fire-ships closed with a corvette of twenty-four guns, which fell a prey to the flames; a third, commanded by Politi, got into the thickest of the enemy, where the wind failing her, she was consumed without effect: the bruloteers, surrounded in their launch by the Ottoman scampavias, cut their way through with signal courage. At three o'clock the breeze died away, and the vessels of Miaulis, Sakhtouri, six other Hydriotes, and the Psarrian Navarch, were becalmed under the guns of Suda, and exposed to a heavy fire, until towed out of range by their boats. Nevertheless, though much cut up in their rigging, the Greeks had only ten men slain outright, while in the corvette the Turks lost 200, fifteen of whom were Europeans, and two Englishmen. On the 17th, a storm dispersed the Hellenes, and Miaulis went to Vatika.

Having put on board his fleet from 3000 to 4000 Arnauts, 600 mounted cavalry, and 1200 pioneers and servants, under Hussein Bey, the Capitan Pasha weighed anchor from Suda on the 23d, with fourscore sail of Turks, Egyptians, and Algerines: on the 28th, he encountered the Christians off Cerigo, when Miaulis, with his van of one corvette, seven brigs, a schooner, and two fire-ships, engaged the enemy's rear, composed of eleven frigates (including that of the Admiral of Algiers), and the Reala Bey's corvette.

This action was disadvantageous to the Greeks, on account of the disparity of force, and smoothness of the sea: they sheered off after burning their brulots, in one

of which the captain was killed, with most of his crew, and retired to refit at their islands.

On the 2d of July, the Mohammedans reached Navarin, and by the 5th completed the disembarkation of their land forces, which immediately set out to join Ibrahim in the interior.

As far as the campaign had hitherto gone, accidental causes prevented Canaris from rendering any service to his country, two vessels having sunk with him: the first from running foul of Miaulis, the second through stress of weather.

The insurgents being apprized about this time, that Mohammed Ali was bent upon despatching a fresh expedition against Greece, that three regular regiments had marched down from Cairo to the coast, and a great fleet of frigates and transports was fitting out, the Psarrian hero conceived the audacious project of annihilating the Viceroy's preparations in the very port of Alexandria. With his own and two Hydriote brigs equipped as brulots, he sailed on the 4th of August, escorted by Kriezi's brig of war, and the corvette Themistocles, commanded by Emanuel Tombazi, who acted as commodore. Meeting with a fair wind, they made the Arabs' Tower on the morning of the 10th, and at three o'clock in the afternoon the fire-ships entered under Russian, Austrian, and Ionian colours. The captain of the port, going in his boat to speak them, was taken, and Canaris, who led the way, had approached a group of frigates anchored beneath the Pasha's palace, when a sudden shift of wind saved the fleet, the town, and 100 European merchantmen. Having fastened his brulot, which drifted to leeward, he escaped pursuit through a shower of cannon balls (some of them fired by a French man-of-war): the two Hydriotes then bore up, and rejoined Tombazi.

The Viceroy was so much incensed, that he ordered

the governor of the town, Bilal Aga, to chase the Greeks with several frigates; however, that officer could not, or would not, fall in with them, although, in the night of the 11th, the sound of their guns was heard at Alexandria. This proceeded from an action they had with five armed vessels convoying forty-five djems (or great boats) from Attalia, and in which an Egyptian brig of sixteen pieces of cannon caught fire, and was blown up, but the insurgents rescued from the waves eighty-one sailors and marines of her crew. Furious at this second insult, the Pasha himself next day went to sea in a corvette, accompanied by five frigates, and sailed as far as Cyprus, whence he returned on the 20th, without seeing an enemy. The Greeks encountered, off Attalia, another Turkish trading vessel, with ninety-five men, who struck their colours after a short resistance, and on the evening of the 25th they re-entered Hydra, having lost but two seamen killed in the whole cruise, and four wounded. They had the generosity to put ashore on the Asiatic coast all their captives, and even the captain of the port of Alexandria. This extraordinary instance of humanity is to be accounted for by the desire they felt to wipe out the stain of a dreadful atrocity committed at Hydra, and which it is our painful duty to narrate. The vessel of Athanasius Kriezi, was blown up at Vatika, June the 23d, with the captain, one of his brothers, and sixty men, a catastrophe, ascribed by eleven survivors to the vengeance of a Turkish slave to whom Kriezi had given a blow. Most of the Hydriotes being connected by intermarriage, there were few families that this event did not affect, and as soon as the news spread, the people, naturally ferocious, rose, and bursting open the jail, slaughtered with their yataghans the prisoners lately brought from Syra, as well as other Moslems previously taken, so that the number of slain exceeded 200.

That such bloody deeds should sometimes occur in moments of excitement, was an inevitable consequence of the exterminating character of the war, and the systematic cruelty of the Turks, for it was rare to light upon Greeks susceptible of pity towards their old tyrants. It is true, that the government, from motives of policy, and a wish to conciliate the good opinion of Europe, did its utmost to repress the practice of injuring prisoners; and this we may exemplify by describing the treatment of the Arabs captured at sea during the former campaign. When first landed at Nauplia, they were subjected to the annoyance of being compelled to go through their exercise for the amusement of the citizens; but curiosity on that head once satisfied, they led a pretty easy life.

Many of them obtained employment as grooms or servants, and the rest receiving rations were assigned to the public works: but these corvées were almost nominal, since the Arabs being too lazy to labour hard, and the Greek superintendents too indolent to constrain them, taskmasters and workmen generally slumbered side by side.

SECTION II.

Upon Ibrahim's descent in Peloponnesus, the insurgents scouted the idea of his puny Ethiopians being formidable to them, who had defeated the flower of the Albanians, Ghegs, and Osmanlys; now, however, they began to change their tone, and entertain gloomy apprehensions of the result of his invasion.

The Roumeliotes were gone, and they had no force to rely on for defending the peninsula, except a levy-en-masse of the Moreote peasantry, and the precarious aid of the Mainatts, who showed little inclination to

quit their mountains, notwithstanding the title of Generalissimo conferred on Petro Bey. Neither were the Peloponnesians a whit more zealous, plainly declaring they would make no exertions until their chiefs and Primates were released and given back to them. Coletti opposed this measure; but after warm debates, his opinion was overruled, and an act of oblivion and amnesty published on the 30th of May, restoring to their liberty, rights, and honours, all outlaws, and persons prosecuted for political offences. A deputation from the government brought Colocotroni and his fellow-prisoners to Nauplia; and after the ceremony of a public reconciliation in the church of St Nicholas, the former was appointed commander-in-chief within the peninsula. When arrested in February, he had said to the people on stepping into a boat, "I have twice saved my country, and shall be called upon to save it a third time:" At present, his prediction being fulfilled, he preached the necessity of union, and lost not an instant in taking the field, directing the primates and captains of his party to summon in their districts every man capable of bearing arms.

Zaimis and Londos had returned clandestinely to the Morea, and the Executive issued a decree ordering them to be arrested; but that being now rescinded by the act of the 30th of May, they resumed their authority in Vostizza and Kalavryta, as Sisini did at Gastuni, and the Delhiyanei in Karitena. To make the idle soldiery rally round Colocotroni's banner, turgid proclamations were disseminated, and the coffee-houses and most of the shops in Nauplia shut up. Already Papa Flessa had drawn together 1000 men near Arkhadia, and was waiting for reinforcements to enable him to fall upon the left flank of the Egyptians, while towards their right the Bey of Maina intrenched himself at Calamata. But Ibrahim, who was both prudent

and active, did not, like Dramali, rush into the heart of the country without looking around and behind him. He had secured an excellent base for his operations, resting on the triangle of which Coron, Modon, and Navarin are the points, acquired one of the best ports in Europe, and thus insured the safety of his magazines and shipping, as well as an easy communication with Suda and Alexandria: he next prepared to extend his line to the right and left before marching into the interior. His first movement was against Arkhadia, in two columns; one of cavalry and a body of foot advancing along the coast by Gargagliano and Philiatra; the other of infantry, led by himself, following an inland road across the high mountains of Aya, at the back of the town. On the 3d of June his horsemen surprised and sacked Arkhadia, the people betaking themselves to flight; but the Pasha's column fared differently, Papa Flessa being posted on the way at the village and pass of Pedimen, where he covered himself with tambourias. Although deserted by his vanguard of 300 men, and by a corps of 500 Mainatts, he, with less than 300 resolute soldiers, fought for nine hours, until Ibrahim, having surrounded him, unsheathed his scimitar, and drove forwards the Arabs to a general charge; when in a mortal struggle with swords, bayonets, and the but-ends of muskets, all the Greeks were cut to pieces, except two who hid themselves among the dead bodies. The Egyptians lost about 600 men; a colonel was killed, and a Pasha and several superior officers wounded. Such was the glorious death of Dikaios Papa Flessa, one of the most unwearied and enthusiastic apostles of the Hetœria: he was a Messenian by birth, and bred to the church, a profession totally unsuitable to him, and which he renounced for the sword. To a fine person he joined the qualities of courage, good temper, and generosity, but he had many

vices, being vain, prodigal, and dissipated: he was, in short, a kind of modern Alcibiades. When his head was presented to the Pasha, the latter, admiring in others the valour he was conscious of possessing, kissed it, and expressed regret that he had not been taken alive. With Dikaios fell Captain Kefalas, and two near relations of Petro Bey. Ibrahim then proceeded to Calamata; and the Bey's forces dispersing among the rocks of Taygetus, burned that town, Nisi, Khytries, and Armyro, and, after passing some days at Modon, resolved to penetrate to Tripolizza. According to the report of a Greek escaped from the enemy's hands, after the affair of Pedimen the Egyptian army was mustered, and found not to exceed 7800 combatants and camp followers; an account that appears probable enough, when, from the 15,000 men landed, we deduct the dead, sick, and garrisons: the field-train the Pasha usually carried with him on the backs of camels, consisted of two six-pounders and two howitzers.

In the mean time, Colocotroni, collecting full 7000 armed peasants, occupied the defiles of Makriplai, separating the valley of the Alpheus from the plains watered by the Pamisus, and directed his bands to intrench the crests of the hills on each side of the Dervend, which is long, but too wide to be easily defended by musketry. Nevertheless, Ibrahim, not choosing to attack it in front, made (June the 19th) a skilful flank march by Poliyano, turned the enemy's left, and getting into the rear of the divisions of Kanellos Delhiyani and Colocotroni's son, brought his artillery to bear upon them. Intimidated by the sight of cavalry, the main body of the insurgents rested in observation; and George Yatrako alone, attempting with the militia of Mistra to assist his friends who were engaged, was repulsed and wounded. As young Colocotroni's position at Tzabala

was very strong, he kept it for thirty-six hours, and after standing a warm cannonade, and losing twenty-eight killed, and seventy-four wounded, moved off in the night, descending frightful precipices, which would have stopped any troops but nimble and practised mountaineers.

The Moreotes then dispersed, and Colocotroni retired to the mountains of Stremnizza, sending orders to the people of Tripolizza to burn their town and shift for themselves. His instructions were punctually executed, the inhabitants fled, and when Ibrahim entered it on the 23d, he found the houses in flames. The walls and citadel were, however, still entire, affording him a commodious depot, where he could establish magazines and hospitals without fearing a coup-de-main.

Having placed a garrison there, and given his troops a few hours' repose, he pursued his march, and on the morning of the 25th, the head of his column appeared on the slope of the hills above the Argolic Gulf. From a lofty point in the road he caught a view of Hydra, and stretching out his hand, exclaimed, "Ah, little England, how long wilt thou escape me!"

As no one dreamed of Ibrahim's sudden approach to the capital, a great part of the grain and flour belonging to the Greek government was at the mills of Lerna, and therefore their preservation became a matter of the utmost importance; but it seemed quite impossible, for the village, though in some measure protected by a marsh, was unfortified. Ypsilanti, forgotten in days of prosperity, and always prominent at critical moments, volunteered his services to defend the mills, and went thither in a boat, accompanied by Constantine Mavromikhali and Makriyani. He could assemble only 227 soldiers, whom he disposed, as well as he was able, in the buildings, and behind garden



walls; he derived, however, essential support from some mistiks armed with small cannon, that flanked his position. Admiral de Rigny, who was anchored in the gulf, repaired in person to Lerna, to dissuade him from what he considered an act of useless temerity; but the Prince coolly replied, "Very well, Admiral, we shall die!" In the afternoon, the Arabs attacking in three columns, and repeatedly advancing within half gun-shot, were repulsed by the grape and musketry of the Greeks: at length a party of them got into the gardens, when Makriyani, drawing his sword, and crying out, "Comrades! now is the time," charged with two or three Philhellenes, and a dozen Roumeliotes and Bulgarians, and put them to flight. During the action, a company of the regular battalion, and other reinforcements, joined Ypsilanti, so that his force was increased to 900 men. At sunset the fire ceased, and the Egyptians continued their march to Argos, having had from 50 to 100 men put hors-de-combat. On the side of the Christians, one Philhellene (a Swiss or German), and three or four Greeks, were killed, and a few wounded, amongst the latter Makriyani, whose right hand was shattered by a ball: the Cyprian soldier, who so boldly swam out to the English men-of-war at Navarin, lost his life.* If the Pasha knew that the magazines of the insurgents were at Lerna, he ought to have attacked with more acharnement, and at any rate he committed a fault in exposing himself to a check from so inferior a force, which dispelled the idea of his invincibility. His disciplined infantry, deficient in mettle, as well as physical strength, was not proper

* An American, named Millar, greatly distinguished himself on this occasion. Monsieur de Rigny (in general no friend to the insurgents, but a good judge of military merit) admired their defence of the mills, distributed rum amongst them, and caused Makriyani's wound to be dressed on board his own ship.

artillery, and the Greeks commenced their evacuation; but when 200 of them had filed off before the Pasha's battalions drawn up in order of battle, an alarm of treachery arising, they shut the gates, and threatened the lives of the Turks whom they had admitted. However, the French and Austrian captains coming ashore with the Cyprian, of whose fate his comrades had hitherto been ignorant, all was arranged, and the insurgents, going on board the transports freighted for them, were landed at Calamata. Those who laid down their arms amounted to 1180, and they left in the fort water for four days' consumption, and bread for ten. Ibrahim behaved with courtesy to the officers, giving them his hand to kiss; this, which he considered as a mark of condescension, was to them a poignant mortification. In one respect he infringed the capitulation, detaining the Beyzadè George and Yatrako as hostages for the two Pashas confined at Nauplia, and for whom they were exchanged in September, through Captain Hamilton's mediation; it is alleged by the Greeks, that the Arabs kidnapped sixty-three of their soldiers.

Having no immediate occasion for his fleet after the surrender of Navarin, the Egyptian general ordered it to return to Suda, effect a junction with that of the Capitan Pasha, and embark some thousand Albanian troops remaining in Candia. Off Cape Matapan, on the morning of the 26th, the Capitana Bey fell in with Miaulis, who had refreshed his squadron at Vatika, and being strengthened by several armed vessels and fire-ships, was, with forty sail, looking out for the enemy. Light winds, adverse to the bruloteers, did not afford him an opportunity of attacking to advantage, but by manœuvring and cannonading, (sometimes at the distance of three miles,) he retarded them for six days, until, on the 1st of June, the Egyptians doubled Cape

retreat the same evening. He found Colocotroni, his son, and Kolliopoulo, waiting for him in the defiles of Mount Parthenius, while Zaimis and John Notaras had occupied the Dervenakia, leading towards Corinth. But these dispositions, judicious in themselves, were frustrated by the cowardice of the Moreotes: a detachment of light infantry turned them from Agladocampo, and the main body of the Egyptians moving against their front, they fled to the mountains of St Peter, leaving open the road to Tripolizza, where the Pasha halted for some time, his troops and horses being extremely fatigued, and in want of shoes. Thus the insurgents having leisure to rally, collected a multitude of armed peasants, and began to hem in the enemy. Zaimis, Londos, and Nikitas encamped at Levidi, near the Arcadian Orchomenus; Colocotroni, Kolliopoulo, and Delhiyani, at Chrysovrisi of Karitena; Ypsilanti, with a corps of Roumeliotes, and the contingents of St Peter and Monemvasia, at Vervena; 700 Argives and Tripolizziotes at Tzipiana, in the gorge of Mount Artemision; and the people of Leondari and Androussa, in the straits of Makriplai. In a council of war held at Levidi, Colocotroni proposed to occupy the heights of Trikorpha, and offer battle: this was objected to by Londos and Zaimis, who represented that their irregular bands, without cavalry and artillery, could never sustain the shock of Ibrahim's troops, and that it would be better to cut off his supplies and starve him out. Their arguments were well founded, but Colocotroni insisted, and, accordingly, on the night of July the 4th, the bulk of the Peloponnesian army concentrated itself within three miles of Tripolizza. The order of battle was as follows:—Kanellos Delhiyani, John Colocotroni, and Papatzuni, with 3000 Arcadians, formed the right, and Notaras, with 1400 Roumeliotes, the left of the first line drawn up on the slope of a ridge of

their line, and sent brulots amongst them. Two of these (a Hydriote and Spezziote) perceiving that the sixty-six gun frigate had carried away her topmasts, and was almost unmanageable, grappled and blew her up, with 800 sailors and bombardiers, the treasure of the fleet, and the Capitan Pasha's flag; his person he had previously transferred to a smaller ship; three of the bruloteers were killed in this exploit, and four wounded. To the left of the Christians, another fire-ship destroyed, in like manner, a frigate of thirty-four guns, and 300 men. The Mussulmans then fled in all directions; twenty of their vessels sought shelter in Karysto; and Khosref Pasha, running to the south, within sight of Hydra, got into Suda on the 8th, with thirty-six sail. Five Austrian transports were captured, laden with 1300 barrels of powder, siege-guns, and a variety of military stores, destined for the Roumeli Valesi. A fine corvette, chased by two Greek brigs, was wrecked on the rocks of Syra, and burnt by her captain, who, landing with his crew, upwards of 200 strong, and well armed, tamely surrendered, on a vague promise of quarter, to the unwarlike inhabitants, who came out to meet him with a white flag, ready to submit if he had put a bold face on the matter. Twenty-five Franks belonging to the ship's company, and as many Turks, were soon after put to death by the populace, and the rest of the prisoners conveyed to Hydra.

Miaulis and Sakhtouri, uniting their squadrons off Falkonera, on the 4th proceeded with seventy sail to Milo. There being informed that the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were crowded together in a disorderly mass at Suda, they laid a plan for burning them; but unluckily a French royal schooner, which came to water at Milo, penetrated their design, and hastened to advertise the infidels, so that when the insurgents arrived, instead of the confusion they were led to expect, they

could desire, and the Moreotes never again ventured to face him in a pitched battle. In a few days Hussein Bey joined him with the troops recently landed at Navarin, and a large convoy of provisions, although he had lost some beasts of burden in forcing the pass of Makriplai. There was still in front of the Pasha one unbroken army of Greeks, that of Ypsilanti, who, with upwards of 4000 men, had his head quarters at Vervena, observed the road to Mistra, and frequently sent strong detachments into the plain of Tripolizza. He, on the morning of the 20th, disposed an ambuscade near Tegea, defeated a foraging party, killed fifty, and took thirty Arabs, and having by this alert attracted the Pasha's attention, the latter quickly brushed Ypsilanti away. On the 21st, an Egyptian battalion, supported by a few horsemen, presented itself before the Prince's positions at Doliana and Akouria: it is difficult to relate the result with gravity. The Moslems first uttered a shout, to which the insurgents, being eight to one, replied more loudly; the former then discharged a volley out of range, but the Prince ordered his men to reserve their fire; lastly, the Arabs beat their drums, and at that formidable sound the Greeks dispersed; their general, who with a few officers brought up the rear, was in imminent danger, and the enemy occupied Vervena.

While Ibrahim was so successful in Arcadia, a sudden movement on his line of communication alarmed him. A tumultuary assemblage of 4000 Messenians and Mainatts stormed the town of Nisi, and after a sharp contest, in which fifty of the assailants fell, put to the sword three companies of Arab infantry stationed there. Their object, however, was simply to gather the crop of ripe figs, and that being accomplished, they withdrew to their fastnesses.

In the months of August and September the Pasha

of which the captain was killed, with most of his crew, and retired to refit at their islands.

On the 2d of July, the Mohammedans reached Navarin, and by the 5th completed the disembarkation of their land forces, which immediately set out to join Ibrahim in the interior.

As far as the campaign had hitherto gone, accidental causes prevented Canaris from rendering any service to his country, two vessels having sunk with him; the first from running foul of Miaulis, the second through stress of weather.

The insurgents being apprized about this time, that Mohammed Ali was bent upon despatching a fresh expedition against Greece, that three regular regiments had marched down from Cairo to the coast, and a great fleet of frigates and transports was fitting out, the Psarrian hero conceived the audacious project of annihilating the Viceroy's preparations in the very port of Alexandria. With his own and two Hydriote brigs, equipped as brulots, he sailed on the 4th of August, escorted by Kriezi's brig of war, and the corvette Themistocles, commanded by Emanuel Tombazi, who acted as commodore. Meeting with a fair wind, they made the Arabs' Tower on the morning of the 10th, and at three o'clock in the afternoon the fire-ships entered under Russian, Austrian, and Ionian colours. The captain of the port, going in his boat to speak them, was taken, and Canaris, who led the way, had approached a group of frigates anchored beneath the Pasha's palace, when a sudden shift of wind saved the fleet, the town, and 100 European merchantmen. Having inflamed his brulot, which drifted to leeward, he escaped pursuit, through a shower of cannon balls (some of them fired by a French man-of-war): the two Hydriotes then bore up, and rejoined Tombazi.

The Viceroy was so much incensed, that he ordered

Lyons silk : around it were hutted the divisions of his army, with esplanades for exercise. In action he was wont to ride about behind his battalions, cutting down any soldier who showed an inclination to quit the ranks.* He had an ambition to be esteemed a civilized Prince, and one of the heroes of the age, was affable to Europeans, and regularly received the French journals, which his dragoman (an Armenian) translated for him. Although he did not exactly carry on hostilities on a principle of extermination, yet he was far from being mild, and sometimes committed for his amusement acts of capricious cruelty. On his first arrival, he flattered himself that the Greeks might be brought to submit, and therefore restrained the barbarity of his army, and behaved with liberality to the vanquished ; but when he saw that they persevered in resistance, he became indifferent to the conduct of his troops, permitting them to enslave and massacre as much as they pleased.

His prisoners of rank did not experience very ill treatment, but the condition of the others was misery itself. A market was opened at Modon for the sale of young persons of both sexes, and the adult captives loaded with irons, branded like cattle, unmercifully beaten, and frequently murdered by their guards, thrust at night into filthy dungeons, worked throughout the day, until vessels were ready to transport them to Egypt, there to labour as galley-slaves for the rest of their lives. The old Turkish system of beheading, or blowing from a gun, every male prisoner above sixteen years of age, may well be thought more humane. His devastations have certainly been exaggerated : he

* One of his adversaries (Gennaios Colocotroni) adopted the same plan, walking about in rear of his men with a large stick, and not sparing its use.

That such bloody deeds should sometimes occur in moments of excitement, was an inevitable consequence of the exterminating character of the war, and the systematic cruelty of the Turks, for it was rare to light upon Greeks susceptible of pity towards their old tyrants. It is true, that the government, from motives of policy, and a wish to conciliate the good opinion of Europe, did its utmost to repress the practice of injuring prisoners; and this we may exemplify by describing the treatment of the Arabs captured at sea during the former campaign. When first landed at Nauplia, they were subjected to the annoyance of being compelled to go through their exercise for the amusement of the citizens; but curiosity on that head once satisfied, they led a pretty easy life.

Many of them obtained employment as grooms or servants, and the rest receiving rations were assigned to the public works: but these corvées were almost nominal, since the Arabs being too lazy to labour hard, and the Greek superintendents too indolent to constrain them, taskmasters and workmen generally slumbered side by side.

SECTION II.

UPON Ibrahim's descent in Peloponnesus, the insurgents scouted the idea of his puny Ethiopians being formidable to them, who had defeated the flower of the Albanians, Ghegs, and Osmanlys; now, however, they began to change their tone, and entertain gloomy apprehensions of the result of his invasion.

The Roumeliotes were gone, and they had no force to rely on for defending the peninsula, except a levy-en-masse of the Moreote peasantry, and the precarious aid of the Mainatts, who showed little inclination to

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK V.—CHAP. I.

Account of Ibrahim's conference with the Deputies of the Garrison of Navarin.

THE Greek captains (Makriyani, Salavankos, and Karapavlos) waited upon the Pasha; Makriyani was spokesman, and as he did not understand Turkish, the following conversation was carried on through an interpreter:—

Ibrahim (looking at Makriyani) said, "Wherefore come you here?"

M. "To surrender the castle."

I. "What is your native country?"

M. "Roumelia; my companions are Moreotes."

I. "Answer truly the questions I am about to ask you: from what part of Roumelia do you come?"

M. "From Lidoriki."

I. "Where have you been until now?"

M. "With Ali Pasha."—(This was false.)

I. "What did you with him?"

M. (Pronouncing the name of Ali Pasha with a deep sigh)—"I was one of his body guards."

I. "And why did you leave him?"

M. "They slew him, and wanted to kill us."

I. (Turning to the Dragoman)—"This is a good man; tell him that if he pleases he may come into my service. How many men has he?"

M. "Seven hundred."

I. "Are they in the fort?"

M. "They are."

Drag. "His highness wishes you to remain with him."

M. "I shall do so with pleasure; as they have slain my Pasha, I shall be glad to go to Egypt."

I. "When will you come?"

M. "At present I am here as a deputy from the garrison, to treat on the business of the castle; when that is finished, and we march

out, and I shall have received my pay, and sent my family (which I dare not leave behind me) in safety to Egypt, I will follow."

I. " When you come out, write me a letter, and I will insure your safety at my outposts."

M. " Very well, my Pasha! now let us talk on the business that brought me here; what is it you demand of us?"

I. " The fort."

M. " Do you know the reason of our giving it up to you?"

I. " Why?"

M. " On account of our divisions, which induce us to cede to you a fortress perfectly well stored (with stones and earth), a thing that is never done, and for which we are liable to be punished by our government; we do not capitulate through fear, but because the Peloponnesians, who have 50,000 men, will not march to our relief, and have deceived us, and brought us here from Roumelia to be sacrificed. But if you wish for the castle, we demand, first, our lives; secondly, that we be embarked in European vessels."

I. " There are mine."

M. " We have no confidence in them: I have for my own part, and trust every thing you say, but perhaps the soldiers will not."

I. " That is a lie; you command the soldiers, and not they you."

M. " It is natural that your highness, who are a prince, and the son of a Viceroy of Egypt, and to whom want and disobedience are unknown, should think so."

I. " You have spoken the truth, and I grant you European vessels."

M. " You will permit us to keep our arms?" On this a long debate ensued; at length the Pasha declared he would allow them thirty complete stand of arms.

M. " We surrender on condition that nothing be taken from the Greeks, except their arms."

I. " Be it so; send to Modon for ships."

M. " Who is to pay the freight?"

I. " You."

M. " We have no money, having spent all in provisioning the fort."

I. " I shall also pay the freight; but get ready quickly."

Makriyani then took his leave, and the garrison resolving to accept the above terms, a Greek went to look for neutral shipping, and found abundance at Coron, but the masters asked 4000 dollars for the trip from Navarin to Calamata. At this unreasonable demand, Ibrahim flew into a passion, and sending for Makriyani, said they must go in his vessels. However, they positively refused, and he was obliged to pay that sum. In the meantime a Turkish prisoner escaped, and told

him the real state of the garrison, and that there were other Turks in the place. The Pasha in great wrath again summoned Makriyani, reproached him, and insisted on having the prisoners instantly; thirteen were accordingly let down from the wall. The Greeks then began to hesitate, some proposing to cut their way through the besiegers, but the arrival of the French and Austrian schooners quieted their suspicions of foul play. At the final evacuation, when the officers were presented to the Pasha, he affected to make a marked distinction between the regulars and irregulars. The two brothers Kalerji being introduced to him together, he asked the eldest what corps he belonged to; on his answering "To the regular artillery," Ibrahim said, "Keep your sabre:" the same question being put to Demetrius, who replied that he commanded a company of irregulars, the Pasha rejoined, "Lay down your sabre." Turning to George Mavromikhali, he said, "Beyzade, sit down there; I intend to make you my pupil."

CHAP. II.

Progress of the War in Northern Greece—Second Siege and Capture of Messalonghi.

SECTION I.

RESHID MEHEMET PASHA, than whom Turkey has not had an abler general or prime minister since the days of Kiuperli, was originally a Georgian slave, and owed his advancement in early youth to the favour of Khosref Pasha. He was in the flower of life, quick, active, intelligent, personally brave, and, though rather below the middle stature, of prepossessing manners and appearance; but in his disposition cruel and treacherous. It was he who gained the battle of Petta, and, had his advice been followed, Messalonghi would have fallen in the autumn of 1822. During the last two years he was not employed against the Greeks; but at the close of the preceding campaign, the Sultan, dissatisfied with the inertness of his Seraskers, Yussuf and Dervish, and convinced that Omer Vriones merely consulted his own interests in Albania, appointed Reshid Roumeli Valesi, with extraordinary powers and unlimited authority, over the western provinces of the empire, his secret enemy, Vriones, being removed from the government of Yannina to that of Salonika.

His military chest being well filled from the Imperial treasury, Reshid Pasha came to Larissa in January, and proceeding to Yannina, appeased the troubles of Epirus by conciliatory measures, courting the most popular chiefs, and promising high pay to the Arnauts. The

Greeks perceiving that the invasion would not, as heretofore, be delayed till the latter end of summer, Andreas Iskos was directed by the Executive to occupy the frontier passes; but the Roumeli Valesi, having with great celerity assembled his army at Arta, anticipated their precautions, and on the 6th of April intelligence reached Messalonghi, that he had already traversed Makrynoros, and penetrated into Acarnania. The people of Valtos and Xeromeros, unable to oppose him, took refuge either in the mountains or the Isle of Kalamos, which the Ionian government had set apart as an asylum for fugitive Greeks. Iskos and Makrys, after vainly attempting to dispute the fords of the Achelous, retreated upon Messalonghi, and on the 25th the Turks encamped within sight of that town.

During his advance, the Ottoman general detached 1500 Albanians across the Evenus into the districts of Venetiko, Malandrino, and Kravari. They were at first worsted in some skirmishes by Sifakas; but a part of the garrison of Lepanto having joined them, they overpowered him, and marched upon Salona. Ghouras, at the head of the forces of Eastern Greece, had undertaken its defence, and was stationed at Ampliani, observing Abbas Pasha, and leaving Panourias to guard the opposite quarter. While his attention was fixed on the valley of the Cephisus, the hostile column from Lepanto, stated at 2500 infantry and 500 cavalry, following unfrequented pathways, surprised, May the 17th, the posts of Palatia and Pente Ornea, killed 200 Greeks, sacked the town of Salona, and carried into slavery a considerable number of its inhabitants. Ghouras fell back to Dystomo, where Tzavella, Bozzaris, and Karaiskaki joined him from the Morea. On the other hand, Abbas Pasha came to the assistance of his countrymen, and in concert with them burned Lidoriki. In a short time Reshid's troops and those of Lepanto returned to

Etolia; but Abbas Pasha remained throughout the summer at Salona: however, his exploits were confined to the destruction of villages, and at Delphi he met with a repulse. Neither party was desirous of engaging, at least neither would venture to attack; Ghouras roamed about the roots of Parnassus, with 3000 or 4000 men, plundering the peasants of their sheep and goats, and drawing daily near 12,000 rations of flour, which he received in boats from Peloponnesus; while Skalza Dimos and Sifakas, with 2000 Armatoles, occupied a strong position on the west side of Salona. The Moslems at length began to want provisions; the Greeks intercepted in the straits of Thermopylæ a large convoy coming from Zeituni; and the festival of St Demetrius (the epoch at which, according to their prejudices, military operations ought to cease) being nigh, the Albanians would stay no longer. Abbas Pasha evacuated Salona (November the 6th) with such precipitation, that he abandoned two pieces of cannon and part of his baggage; and on the very day of his retreat, fifty-six Turks of Lepanto arriving by sea, and landing at Scala, were surrounded, and forced to lay down their arms. Although there was so little fighting, yet the marauding of the two armies, and the inroads of the Eubœan Turks into Attica and Bœotia, completed the ruin of Eastern Greece, and brought famine in their train.

Having sketched these minor events, we now turn to the siege of Messalonghi. That town, built on the edge of a marshy plain, bounded by the high hills of Zygos, is protected towards the sea by shallow lagoons extending about ten miles along the coast, and five in breadth, and, with the exception of a very few tortuous channels, impervious to any vessel drawing more water than the mŏnoxyla (or canoes) of the inhabitants, who derived competence and even wealth from

the product of their abundant fisheries. The main chonnel to the south is commanded by the mud bank and blockhouse of Vassiladi, and those to the north by the islets of Poros and Anatoliko. Under Byron's auspices, the Greeks had applied themselves to strengthening the works of Messalonghi, erecting what they called bastions, tenailles, lunettes, &c.; it would, however, be an error to attach to these words the value given to similar constructions in Europe, the fortifications consisting, in truth, of an avant fossè, a ditch, and rampart of earth faced with stone, from 2000 to 2400 yards in length, and presenting some flanks and angles, but without either covered way or outworks. The ordnance, exclusive of that on Anatoliko and Vassiladi, comprehended forty-eight bad iron guns of every calibre, from four to forty-eight pounders, two brass ten-inch mortars, one howitzer of five and one mountain ditto of 4⅘ inches. As the population was augmented by refugees from all parts of Occidental Greece, and Iskos, Makrys, Stornaris, Mitcho Kontoyani, Liaketas, Lambro Veikos, and George Kizzos had thrown themselves, with their bands, into Messalonghi and Anatoliko, the garrisons of both amounted to about 5000 fighting men, animated with an excellent spirit. The captains we have just mentioned, and the veteran Nothi Bozzaris, formed a council of defence, assisted by Nikitas until the middle of August, when he was recalled to the Morea; and the civil administration was in the hands of a committee of three persons, presided by Papadiamandopoulos, ancient primate of Patrass. It may safely be affirmed, that Kutahi (under which name the Greeks invariably designated the Roumeli Valesi*) had no distinct notion of the fluctuating force of his own army; but as deserters reported that

* He had been once governor of Kutaihè, in Asia Minor.

his commissariat distributed each day 25,000 rations, it seems likely that, including detachments, it sometimes rose to 20,000 men. Of these, 8000, Albanians, Bosniaks, and Ottoman Turks, were paid soldiers, as many armed traders, grooms, and servants, and 4000 pioneers, Christian peasants dragged from the villages of Macedonia and Thessaly. Two Pashas (Ismael Pliassa, and Omar, son to Ibrahim, formerly Vizier of Berat) and a dozen Beys, marched under his orders. Of the latter, those best known to the insurgents were, Tahir Abbas, Sultza Gheortcha, and Banouss Serbran. He brought with him one piece of cannon and one howitzer, trusting to the magazines of Patrass and Lepanto for a supply of artillery, ammunition, and provisions. There was now nothing to prevent Yussuf Pasha from co-operating in the siege, the gulf being open, and Kolliopoulo's corps having withdrawn in May. A ten-gun brig and four gun-boats kept up a constant communication between Reshid's camp and the fortresses.

For ten days after the arrival of the Turks, no hostilities passed except petty skirmishes, which all Orientals take so much delight in, while the enemy, scattered over the plain, covered himself with intrenchments; on the 7th of May he opened his first parallel at a distance of 600 paces, and on the night of the 8th, raised a cavalier battery opposite to that of Rhigas, towards the east of the town. The besieged cannonaded incessantly, and dug an inner ditch behind the right of the rampart. On the 10th the Turks, planting their howitzer, threw five shells with pretty good aim, and they fired for four hours on the night of the 11th.

During the rest of May and the month of June, they pushed forwards their approaches, completed their second parallel, prepared gabions and fascines, constructed breaching batteries, and having received ordnance from Patrass, cannonaded and bombarded the place with

eight guns and four mortars and howitzers: the Greeks vigorously returned the fire, and sedulously improved their defences. On the 4th of June, the Ottoman flotilla, commanded by Captain Mahmood, engaged a Hydriote brig cruising about Cape Papas, and was beaten off with some damage. On the night of the 9th the Turks seemed disposed to attempt a coup-de-main, issuing out of their lines under a sudden discharge of cannon and small arms, but, perceiving that the Christians were on their guard, speedily retired. Next day the besieged, who in their letters had earnestly intreated that ships might be sent them, descried with pleasure a Hydriote squadron of seven vessels, appointed under the orders of Captain Nengas to blockade the Corinthian Gulf, to which the Turkish flotilla immediately retreated. On the night of the 18th, the enemy, whose fire had become slack for want of projectiles, tried by wading through the lagoon to get possession of a mud bank and battery called Marmaros, at the western extremity of the rampart: they were, however, briskly repulsed. On the 2d of July the garrison sprung a small mine, and instantly sallying from the centre and both flanks, penetrated into the trenches, dispersed the workmen and their guard, and brought back seven standards.

The joy which the arrival of Nengas' squadron produced was cruelly damped by the appearance of the grand Ottoman fleet, for the Capitan Pasha, after landing at Navarin the troops of Hussein Bey, anchored (July the 10th) in the roads of Messalonghi with fifty-five sail, obliging the Hydriotes to run to the southward. Notwithstanding his losses in the sea-fight off Cape d'Oro, he was still able to give the Roumeli Valesi very important aid in men, guns, and stores of all kinds, and the latter consequently pressed the siege with redoubled vigour, completing his contravallation,

advancing mounds of earth to the edge of the ditch, which he filled up in several places, and making wide breaches in the walls. These labours proved extremely fatal to his pioneers, continually exposed to the musketry of the garrison, and working with the fear of death behind and before them: they frequently called out that they were Christians serving through compulsion, but however much the besieged might pity, it was impossible to spare them. Yussuf Pasha, having fitted out and armed at Patrass thirty-six flat-bottomed boats, launched them upon the lagoon, within Vassiladi, and putting 2000 Turks on board, cut off the communication with Anatoliko, and fired upon the town: fortunately for the Greeks, he had not sense and spirit enough to storm Vassiladi, which would soon have brought the siege to a termination. As the breach at the bastion of Bozzaris (the centre of the rampart) was practicable, the enemy sprung a mine on the 28th, and following up the explosion by an assault, for a moment their bayracks waved on the top of the parapet; nevertheless the Greeks beat them back, and hastily repaired the breach with earth and planks: in the afternoon Yussuf's flotilla, attacking the western sea face, was repelled by the batteries. But the condition of the garrison was nearly desperate, provisions and ammunition falling short; and the place might perhaps have capitulated, if Reshid Pasha had not insisted on an unconditional surrender. The only hope of the besieged lay in the Hellenic marine, and it came at last to their relief, after being for some time detained in port by the mutinous conduct of the sailors, who most unreasonably demanded higher wages. They were ultimately persuaded to embark, one division went out of Hydra (July the 17th), and the whole squadron, of above forty sail, rendezvousing under Miaulis at Vatika, worked up to the north, against strong contrary winds. Sakhtouri,

with their van of twelve vessels, came in sight of the enemy's cruisers, off Cefalonia, on the 29th. The Capitan Pasha then got under weigh and gave chase, but the islanders, whose ships sailed better than his, amused him by their manœuvres until the 2d of August, when Miaulis joined with the main body.

Apprehensive lest the Greeks should succeed in throwing supplies into the place, the Ottoman Satraps held a council of war, and determined to storm forthwith.

At daybreak of the 2d, the Turks put fire to a mine beneath the Franklin battery, and advanced to the assault in five columns with such resolution, that they planted twenty standards on the ruins of the battery. For two hours and a half a terrible discharge of great and small arms thundered along the entire front of the fortifications, involving Messalonghi in clouds of smoke: the result was glorious to the insurgents, who every where repulsed the assailants with great slaughter.* Two hundred Zaporogian Kossacks that bravely led the attack, not being properly supported by the Arnauts, were cut to pieces. This affair was the prelude to an audacious and brilliant feat on the part of the Greek navy. During the night of the 3d, Miaulis and Sakhtouri silently got to windward of the Ottoman line, and early next morning dispersed their inshore squadron, burning a brig and a schooner that grounded in the mud. At noon the enemy's grand fleet came upon them in order of battle, twelve corvettes commanded by the Reala Bey forming the right wing, the Capitan Pasha with nine frigates and his schooners in the centre, and all his brigs on the left.

The insurgents boldly engaged them between Messa-

* A deserter subsequently represented their loss as amounting to 1500 killed and wounded; Mr Green states it at 500, probably nearer the truth.

longhi and Cape Papas, when, after a few broadsides, three fire-ships making a dash at the Capitan Pasha, he set all sail, and bore away to the southward: a general flight ensued, and so excessive was the terror of the Mohammedans, that in passing Zante on the 5th, they hauled their wind to avoid an encounter with seven Greek vessels beating up from the Archipelago. One corvette, four brigs, four schooners, and five transports ran into the gulf, and the rest of their ships did not bring up until they made the harbour of Alexandria. The maritime blockade of Messalonghi being thus raised, through Khosref's unexampled cowardice, and the garrison re-victualled, its chiefs established a correspondence with Karaiskaki and Tzavella, who had been detached from Eastern Greece to act in the enemy's rear. A plan was concocted by the Hydriote and Roumeliote leaders for a combined effort, on the 6th of August, against Reshid's camp and Yussuf's flotilla. Accordingly the Greek launches, well manned and armed, entered the lagoons by the Vassiladi channel, defeated the Turkish boats, and captured five of them; the others were dragged ashore, under the guns of a battery, by their crews, who with Yussuf Pasha escaped through mud and water to the Roumeli Valesi's camp. An hour after sunset, Karaiskaki and Tzavella made from the hills a preconcerted signal, which the garrison answered: two hours later, they commenced, at the head of 500 men, an action in rear of the Moslems, while from the centre and eastern flank of the rampart 1000 chosen soldiers sallied out. The first rank carried no weapon but swords, and the second drew theirs as soon as they had fired two volleys of musketry. Rushing into the trenches, they slaughtered the Turks, drove them from four batteries, and after a bloody fight of three hours and a half, returned to the town with arms, standards, and prisoners; the latter Christian pioneers,

to whom quarter was granted. Karaiskaki's attack, not being conducted with equal courage, had merely the effect of a feint.

Miaulis visited the place in person, and then went to cruise in the Archipelago, leaving however a squadron to attend to the wants of the garrison, and blockade Patrass and Lepanto. This series of adverse events did not daunt the stern soul of Reshid Pasha. Having failed in taking Messalonghi either through famine or assault, he endeavoured to work his way into the town by means of a vast mound of earth, 160 paces in length, and from six to eleven in breadth, which he pushed on towards the Franklin battery: the besieged, attempting to interrupt his progress by a sally, on the 8th, lost seven killed and nine wounded. By the 10th, his mound completely overlooking the Franklin, his soldiers swept it with their musketry, and slew nine Greeks. That battery being then untenable, the Turks effected a lodgement upon it. Having thus by a transverse mole cut the line of defence, the Serasker constructed at its extremity a platform with a crest of gabions, mounted a piece of cannon there to fire into the interior of the town, and strove to fill up the second ditch, while the Christians intrenched themselves on both flanks of the redoubt, raised new works behind it, brought two howitzers to play on the head of the mound (which they called the dike of union), and concentrated against it the fire of their heaviest ordnance from the batteries on the right and left. For fifteen days both parties laboured assiduously to heighten their bulwarks and give them consistence, employing layers of sand-bags, fascines, and gabions, amidst a shower of shot and shells, grape and musketry; and as they were within a few yards of each other, the fighting was of a truly fierce description. However, one distinction may be remarked, that whereas the Turks divided their tasks between the soldiers

and pioneers, the same Greeks were under the necessity of working and fighting. In spite of the flanking fire of the garrison, the besiegers solidly established themselves in the Franklin, and sinking, on the 27th, three shafts of mines, carried forwards their galleries, intending to blow up the inner intrenchments. The insurgents, perceiving that if the enemy was not counteracted in time, he would get into the heart of the place, prepared a fougasse with three of their largest bombs under the head of his sap, and ignited the train before noon on the 31st. The explosion was a signal for nearly the whole garrison to make a violent attack on the Franklin, and after a furious struggle until nightfall, the Christians remained masters of it. Next morning, the Turks endeavouring to retake it, the battle was renewed and lasted till midnight; but the Greeks not only kept possession, but also destroyed the platform at the end of the dike, undoing all that Kutahi had painfully accomplished in three weeks.

The loss of the besieged in men, during the past month, had been heavy, but many circumstances concurred to cheer them: by sea their communication with their countrymen was uninterrupted; they received a reinforcement of Souliotes and Roumeliotes, under Kizzo Tzavella and George Valtinos, a small detachment of regular artillery, with a supply of ammunition from Nauplia, and live cattle from Acarnania. At the beginning of September, the garrison reckoned 4000 combatants, and to them and their families 14,000 rations were given out daily.

Reshid Pasha yielded not to his opponents in perseverance; he called in fresh troops from Salona, and elsewhere; repaired the damage done to his mound; plied the town with shells and cannon-balls from eighteen guns, and several mortars and howitzers; again crowned the salient angle of the Franklin redoubt,

and made preparations for another assault. The besieged, admonished of his design by the Albanians, got ready a fougasse and a mine, and resolved, through a stratagem, to hasten the moment of attack. On the morning of the 21st of September, they sprung the fougasse, and commenced a fire along the line; the enemy, expecting a sortie, ran from all quarters to oppose it, and encouraged by the trifling effect of the explosion, and the apparent hesitation of the garrison, a weighty column of Albanians and Ghegs ventured to storm, trying different points, and was smartly repulsed. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Greeks having succeeded in drawing the Turks within the focus of their mine, put fire to it, and blew into the air the Franklin battery, the head of the mole, and a crowd of Mohammedans, thirty-five dead bodies falling upon the inner parapet; they then poured grape and musketry among the fugitives, and, before the latter could recover from their consternation, sallied out and levelled part of the ruins. The affairs of the 31st of August, and the 1st and 21st of September, cost the besieged, on their own showing, thirty-five killed and eighty wounded. On the 27th, some vessels that had been cruising before the Ambracian Gulf, disembarked at Messalonghi Hadji Petro Christodoulos, John Stratos, and two other Acarnanian captains, with their followers; this reinforcement, like that brought by Tzavella and Valtinos, was inconsiderable in point of numbers, but the reputation of the leaders rendered them so valuable, that although Tzavella had no more than twenty-five men, the municipal commission stipulated to allow him pay for one thousand; it is true the pay was in paper, and could never be realized. At this period, an Austrian imperial schooner, wishing to go to Patrass, was prevented from doing so by the Greek blockading squadron. Reshid still prosecuted the siege, but his exer-

tions became gradually fainter, as his pioneers existed no longer; most of the Illyrians deserted, leaving with him only the Ottoman Turks, and a corps of 500 Chamides; and Karaiskaki and Tzongas, at the head of flying parties, infesting the roads to Karavanserai and Vonitza, cut off several hostile detachments, and captured great part of his convoys, with the camels and mules used in transporting them. On the 13th of October, the garrison again sprung a mine, and Tzavella and Lambro Veikos, executing a sortie with 800 select soldiers, drove his troops from the mound, and burned his gabions. Immediately afterwards heavy rains beginning to fall, and flooding the low grounds, compelled him to suspend his operations. He abandoned his advanced works, and withdrawing to a distance of half a mile, set about building a castle for the safety of his magazines, and taking such other measures as might enable him to winter before Messalonghi, and await the Capitan Pasha's return. His army dwindled down to 3000 men, and he found much difficulty in procuring them subsistence, which, without Yussuf Pasha's aid, would have been impossible. Nevertheless, from his remoter batteries he continued at intervals to bombard the place, and issued orders for impressing 700 pioneers and 200 beasts of burden, having apparently made up his mind rather to die than raise the siege. The Greeks were in high spirits, their cruisers being always in sight, and boats laden with provisions coming in from Zante; they cleared out their ditches, repaired the breaches, and demolished the heaps of earth which the enemy had piled up. They talked of marching forth and dislodging the Roumeli Valesi from his position, but he had so thoroughly buried himself amidst intrenchments that the success of such an enterprise seemed very doubtful. However, Karaiskaki repaired to Messalonghi to deliberate on a combi-

ned night attack, and they perhaps would in the end have annihilated the besieging army, if powerful auxiliaries had not arrived to its support. The Sultan had set his heart on the subjugation of a place, which he deemed the principal stronghold of rebellion, and it was his will that Ibrahim Pasha should undertake its reduction, backed by the naval forces of Turkey, Egypt, and Barbary; so that the Messalonghiotes, after a brief respite, saw the whole energies of the Ottoman Empire bent against them.

SECTION II.

WHEN, in the month of August, the Capitan Pasha fled so disgracefully from the Greek brulots, he steered straight for Alexandria, and entering that port on the 13th, found the Viceroy was gone out in pursuit of Tombazi and Canaris; in a few days, however, Mohammed Ali returned, and he and Khosref, disguising their inveterate enmity, were prodigal in professions of esteem and friendship. The Viceroy, as we have before stated, had been for some time back busily engaged in preparing a great expedition to reinforce his son, equipping ships, and drilling regiments under the inspection of the French generals Boyer and Livron, whom he had taken into his service. From the 17th to the 19th of October, the Capitan Pasha again put to sea with a fleet of 135 sail, seventy-nine of which were men-of-war. Nine frigates, nine corvettes, ten brigs, and three schooners, belonged to the Sultan; two frigates, two corvettes, and one schooner, to the Dey of Algiers; one corvette, one brig, and two schooners, to the regency of Tripoli; and two frigates, a corvette, sixteen brigs, nine schooners, a steam vessel (purchased in London, and armed with three guns), and ten fire-ships, to the

Viceroy of Egypt; thirty of the transports were European, and twenty-six Egyptian. Ten thousand troops were embarked, viz. 8000 disciplined Arabs, 800 Turkish irregular infantry, and 1200 mounted cavalry. Counting grooms and servants, the army could not be much inferior in number of men and horses to that which sailed in the former year, but the new regiments being hastily levied, were in no respect comparable to the old troops who accompanied Ibrahim. Thirty-six of the ships were kept clear, and in fighting trim, the rest taking on board soldiers and stores. This being the season of southerly winds, the voyage was prosperous, and on the 5th of November the fleet dropped its anchors in the harbour of Navarin. Ibrahim then seeing himself once more at the head of a flourishing army, and flattered with the idea of succeeding where so many Pashas had failed, resolved to make a winter campaign, and capture Messalonghi at any price. With this view he decided upon moving his head-quarters to Patrass, sending a large body of troops, his park and train thither by sea, while he proposed to conduct a column of cavalry and infantry by land. On the 18th, the Turkish and Egyptian navies brought up at the castles, leaving some ships outside to blockade Messalonghi. Ibrahim, with 4000 men, traversed the defiles of Kleidi unmolested, and on the 20th reached the southern bank of the Alpheus. A multitude of Greeks having with their families taken shelter in the low islets of the lagoon of Agholonizza, he attacked them, and rode into the swamp at the head of his cavalry, while a part of the infantry swam across. But the insurgents, manœuvring rapidly with 100 canoes, repulsed him; and his horses floundering in the mud, he fell, and was dragged out by his own people under the enemy's fire. The Peloponnesians confessed a loss of 140 persons, and asserted, that they counted in the

marsh the dead bodies of 127 Egyptians, and 80 horses. Crossing the Alpheus on the 21st, the Pasha laid waste with fire and sword the hollow Elis, burning Pyrgos, Gastouni, Andravida, and Lykania. His advanced guard of 400 horsemen pushing on to Gastouni, at the same time that Yussuf Pasha approached it from the north with the cavalry of Patrass, the town was surprised, and Sisini so closely pursued that several of his attendants were sabred. The Eleans partly fled to the mountains of Arcadia, and partly to the sea-coast, where they shut themselves up in the old Venetian forts of Castel Tornese, Pondikocastro, and the monastery of Skaphidia. In some villages, the peasants, surrounded before they were aware of the danger, showed what Greeks are capable of doing, when driven to despair; at Vartholomaion, 250 armed insurgents held out for a whole day, killing a great number of Mohammedans, and fighting until 205 of them lay dead on the spot.

On the 29th, Ibrahim arrived at the Morea Castle, where the troops, whom he had sent by sea, were encamped. He then passed over to Lepanto, conferred with Khosref and Reshid Pashas, and surveyed the situation of Messalonghi. As he was titular Valy of the Morea, Yussuf Pasha's authority ceased, and the latter departed to assume the government of Magnesia, on the Hermus, after having maintained his ground at Patrass, for nearly five years, with no ordinary tenacity.

Having directed Hussein Bey to make a fresh incursion into Elis, disseminate proclamations, calling upon the inhabitants to lay down their arms, and endeavour, by force or persuasion, to reduce the posts they occupied on the coast, Ibrahim proceeded in person, with two vessels, up the gulf, as far as Galaxidi and [illegible]ded and destroyed thirty small

craft, but did not attempt the town of Salona, garrisoned by a party of Souliotes. He returned (December the 9th), and immediately afterwards transported the bulk of his army to Krioneri, on the Etolian shore: most of his cavalry wintered about Patrass and Gastouni, under the orders of Delhi Ahmed Pasha, the same officer who, in 1823, conducted the disastrous retreat from Corinth to Akrata; a strong division of regular infantry, commanded by Suleyman Bey, remained in Messenia to guard Modon and Navarin, and 2000 men held Tripolizza.

On hearing of the immense preparations going on at Alexandria, the Greeks suspected an intention of attacking Hydra and Spezzia, and therefore Miaulis cruised betwixt Europe and Asia, despatching light vessels on all sides to bring him information. As soon as he learned the course of the Turks, he followed them, doubled Cape Matapan, and on the 14th of November looked into Navarin, where he descried the enemy at anchor; he proposed to send four fire-ships amongst them, but the bruloteers refused to go, except the entire squadrons would accompany them. Next night, a vessel running foul of Miaulis's brig, damaged her so much that he was forced to order her back to Hydra, and shift his flag on board Tombazi's corvette. On the 15th he fell in with forty-five sail of Turks standing with a fair wind towards Patrass; some shots were exchanged, but a gale from the north-east obliged the Greeks to scud under bare poles, and on the 18th their Admiral went into Vatika. The Spezziotes and Psarrians then left him, but Miaulis, notwithstanding, persevered in his duty with the Hydriote squadron of two corvettes, twenty-five brigs or schooners, and six fire-ships. Getting under weigh, when the weather moderated, he passed Zante on the 25th, and heaving to in the evening, off Cape Papas, offered battle to

the Capitan Pasha, who had ninety men-of-war. A division of the enemy forming a line to hinder him from communicating with Messalonghi, a distant cannonade was kept up for an hour, the calmness of the weather rendering close action impossible: a gun, which burst on board Tombazi's corvette, killed or wounded eleven men. At night, Zaka's ship, in tacking, grounded on the Scrofes, but the boats of the squadron towed her off. Next day, they had another indecisive encounter with seven frigates, a corvette, and twenty-nine brigs. The brulots could do nothing; one of them, struck by a shot, caught fire, and was abandoned; and in the afternoon the Turkish main body coming out of the gulf, the Greeks retreated behind the Scrofes.

On the 27th, Miaulis, despatching some of his launches to Klarenza, conveyed to Kalamos about 600 of the women and children cooped up in Castel Tornese; on the 28th, he spoke a boat from Messalonghi, and after dark, a pilot of that town came in his skiff on board the Admiral. Learning from these sources that the garrison was in great want of provisions, he purchased a certain quantity of corn and biscuit, paying part of the price out of his own pocket, and had it brought from Zante to Petala, watching an opportunity of slipping it into the place. This being the very thing the Turks were anxious to prevent, they on the evening of the 29th bore down in great force to attack sixteen sail of Hydriotes, two schooners leading their van; one of these was soon obliged to sheer off, and a number of their boats were repulsed in an attempt to board a Greek fire-ship. After prolonging the engagement, without any result, during a portion of the night, both parties stood on the same tack towards Cefalonia. The night of the 30th being very dark, with a fresh breeze, the bruloteer Panteli made a spirited onset upon a frigate, which, receiving him with a shower of hand-gre-

nades and incendiary balls, burned his vessel, he and his crew escaping to Sakhtouri's brig.

On the 2d of December the islanders at length succeeded in throwing grain into Messalonghi, by means of their own boats. On the 3d there was a smart action off Dragomestre, and the Egyptians tried to use one of their fire-ships; as this, however, was an art they did not understand, she was consumed to no purpose, and all on board perished in the flames, the boats that came to save them being kept at a distance by the grape-shot of the Greeks. Two Turkish captains (of a frigate and a corvette) lost their lives, eight Hydriote seamen were slain, and Captain Pinozzi severely wounded. For the two following days the Moslems gave no annoyance, and their inactivity allowed Miaulis to despatch to Messalonghi his launches and three Zantiote barks with supplies of corn and biscuit. On the 7th, his attention being attracted by the sound of musketry in the direction of Klarenza, he stood in and perceived the troops of Hussein Bey endeavouring to prevent a crowd of Moreotes from embarking in seven Zantiote craft anchored outside; whereupon he manned his boats, and sending them to the assistance of his countrymen, rescued many of the latter. The Turks brought up some pieces of cannon, and the sailors wished to land and attack them, when the enemy's fleet suddenly appearing, the Admiral recalled them to their ships, which hastily cleared for action. After a short engagement the Ottomans retired, taking with them a Greek brulot that fell into their hands, owing to a shot having cut the rope by which the crew was towing her on; and unfortunately her commander, Vokos, one of the best bruloteers, was killed.

Next day stormy weather setting in separated the belligerents, and compelled them to run for shelter. The Hydriotes were short of ammunition, a want

partly removed by the arrival, on the 10th, of a schooner laden with gunpowder, and 1650 cannon-balls; but as their water and provisions likewise failed, they were under the necessity of sailing for Hydra, just as seventeen Spezziote vessels were on their way to the Ionian Sea. About the same time the Algerine squadron quitted the Capitan Pasha; and on the 21st, two of his corvettes foundered in a gale of wind, off Cape Papas.

Throughout the months of November and December nothing particular occurred on the land side of Messalonghi: Kutahi, immovable in his lines, persevered in an ineffectual cannonade and bombardment, which the batteries of the town answered as ineffectually. On the 7th of December, Lambro Veikos made a sortie towards the church of St Athanasius, and skirmished with the enemy for five hours.

Ibrahim, meanwhile, had established a vast depot of artillery, ammunition, and provisions at Krioneri, where a part of his army was encamped, and Khosref Pasha lay at anchor. Thither he transferred his head-quarters (December the 24th), and on the same day an Egyptian division joined Kutahi. In the first week of the year 1826, Ibrahim marched in person to invest Messalonghi, and took up a position to the left of the Roumeli Valesi, leaving a detachment to guard his magazines at Krioneri, under the command of the commissary-general, Bilal Aga. Previous to entering upon serious operations, he employed six weeks more in preparing a flotilla, erecting batteries, and conveying shot, shells, &c., from the depot to his camp. As he had no carriages, and there were no roads fit for their use, this business was performed by his Arabs, who carried the projectiles on their heads a distance of twelve miles, across the Evenus, over rocks, and through pools of water: the consequence of such hard labour, and of

the heavy rains, was, that they sickened, and died in great numbers. They suffered, too, exceedingly from cold, and by heaping wood on the fires to warm themselves, caused repeated conflagrations in the camp, consuming whole streets of tents and huts.

The Messalonghiotes felt no dismay at the approach of the Egyptians, they did not fear a land attack, and derived confidence from Miaulis's recent success in introducing supplies, the sight of the Spezziotes cruising in the offing, and a letter written to them by the primates of Hydra, and containing assurances of speedy succour. Now and then boats insinuated themselves through the Petala channel, bringing them grain, twenty barrels of powder, and 500 cannon-balls, transboarded from the Spezziote vessels. They also received a reinforcement of Pallikars; for the chiefs outside, by distributing 250 piastres to each man, induced 600 good soldiers to volunteer an attempt to traverse the hostile lines in the night. Of course the fulfilment of such a compact depended on the courage and honour of the individuals who bound themselves, but it is certain that a part of them got in, headed by Christos Makrys and Christos Fotomarra. The two Satraps, Ibrahim and Reshid, looked upon each other with dislike and jealousy, and a similar ill-will showed itself more strongly among their troops, insomuch that it was necessary to keep them asunder, those of the Roumeli Valesi serving at the outposts, and resigning the management of the siege to the Egyptians. The constant cannonade that the Ottomans had persisted in for six months, then ceased, Ibrahim justly conceiving it to be useless, and profound silence reigned in the Mohammedan batteries, although the besieged still fired from a mere love of noise.

On the 12th of January they remarked that, instead of Turks, Arabs occupied the advanced works in front

of the place, and were dragging forwards and planting ordnance; on the afternoon of the 15th, a bombardment commenced from ten mortars and howitzers, and was renewed on the 17th and 18th, lasting two or three hours on each occasion, with a view, probably, of ascertaining the range and effect of the pieces. The enemy's battering train of twenty guns, and five large mortars, was detained at Krioneri, on account of a flood in the river Evenus, which rendered all communication impossible. On the 19th, joy prevailed in Messalonghi, owing to the reception of two letters from Miaulis, announcing to the principal officers and municipal commission, that he was off the Scrofes with his fleet.

On his late return to Hydra, the primates presented a strong remonstrance to the Executive body, demanding funds for the equipment of their vessels. As the proceeds of the second loan were drained, the present emergency could only be met by a public subscription: the Senate set an example by contributing 82,000 piastres, the members of the Executive and the ministers gave 42,000, the merchants of Syra 30,000, and small donations from other quarters made up a sum that remedied the most indispensable wants of the marine. It was much to be regretted, that the three naval islands were on bad terms, and seemed to be playing at cross purposes: when the Hydriotes came in the Spezziotes went out, and now as the former were going out, the latter, with the exception of three vessels, returned into port; scarcely any of the Psarrians would quit Egina. Miaulis took his departure from Kastria (January the 13th), and on the 17th made the roadstead of Oxia, with only twelve sail, the others having been driven by a hard gale to Zante or Ithaca: Pipini's brulot went down, but he and his

men were saved. Next day the admiral spoke two Messalonghiote boats that were at Petala purchasing corn and cattle, wrote the letters above alluded to, and promised to send in his launches with biscuit as soon as the storm abated.

On the morning of the 21st he cast anchor before Vassiladi, with fifteen Hydriote vessels, three Spezziote, and four Psarrian, one of which was the fire-ship of Canaris; the garrison hailed their presence with a triple discharge from their batteries. Although the wind still blew strong, the enemy's fleet came out of the gulf, and at noon of the 22d, fourteen frigates or corvettes, and two brigs, bore down upon the Greeks, who cut their cables and got to sea under a heavy fire, by which several vessels were damaged, and one lost a mast: they sheltered themselves behind the Scrofes, and the Turks tacked about betwixt the Etolian shore and Klarenza. On the 26th, a fast-sailing Constantinople corvette struck on a shoal near Procopanistos, and could not be floated off. This occurrence being made known to Miaulis, who had now twenty-five sail, he hastened to take advantage of it, by attacking her on the night of the 27th, when, after a short cannonade, the bruloteer Politis blew her up: most of her crew, amounting to 300 men, were slain or drowned, but the Greeks gave quarter to some Christian slaves. Alarmed by the explosion, an Ottoman division, cruising under the lee of Cape Papas, ran into the gulf; but next morning sixty of their ships of war advanced to engage with a fair wind. Miaulis, manœuvring to gain the weathergage, did not decline the action, which lasted three hours, and ended in the dastardly flight of the Turks, who were chased within the castles, losing two fire-ships; one of them being abandoned to the Greek launches, the other stranded and burnt in the

bay of Patrass; the crews of both escaped.* Miaulis then went back to the roads of Messalonghi, recovered his anchors, and finished disembarking biscuit, ammunition, and 7000 kiloes of maize, taken on board at Petala; thus provisioning the place for two months. Before his arrival, the stock of food was so slender, that after eating all the camels, mules, and asses, the people subsisted on unground corn, not having tasted bread for fifteen days; and the rations were reduced to fifty, and ultimately to thirty drams. On the 4th of February the Mussulmans plucked up courage to venture a fresh combat, but this time the Greeks did not dispute the victory, as their object was accomplished, and they had nothing to gain by fighting; they stood away to Dragomestre, and thence to Hydra, carrying with them Andreas Iskos, and four captains,† charged by the Messalonghiotes with propositions to the government. In the actions of the 22d and 28th the islanders had six killed and fourteen wounded, thirteen of whom suffered by the bursting of another gun in Tombazi's corvette. The Capitan Pasha took no share, remaining at his moorings in the roadstead of Krioneri, and intrusting the command of his fleet to the Egyptian admiral, Moharrem Bey, (son-in-law to the Viceroy,) and the Capitana Bey, Halil.

During these operations at sea, hardly any hostilities occurred between the besiegers and besieged; the former had suspended their bombardment, and the latter, finding that their cannon-shots were not answered, judged it advisable to husband their powder, and had leisure to meditate on their sad condition. Invested for ten months, frequently on the verge of starvation,

* This last was the Hydriote brig of Vokos, captured by the Mohammedans in December.

† Lambro Veikos, Nicholas Zervas, Spiros Mileos, and Apostoli Kousouris.

thinned by fatigue, watching, and wounds, they had already buried 1500 soldiers; the town was in ruins, and they lived amongst the mire and water of their ditches, exposed to the inclemency of a rigorous season, without shoes and in tattered clothing. As far as their vision stretched over the waves they beheld only Turkish flags; the plain was studded with Mussulman tents and standards; and the gradual appearance of new batteries more skilfully disposed, the field-days of the Arabs, and the noise of saws and hammers at Aspri Aliki, where lay the wrecks of Yussuf's gun-boats, gave fearful warning. Yet these gallant Acarnanians, Etolians, and Epirotes never flinched for an instant; no craven thought crossed their minds; they carried as bold a front as in hours of festivity, and scorned to pronounce the word surrender. There was not the least chance of their capitulating with Kutahi, a blood-thirsty monster, who invariably put his male prisoners to death, and on the 20th of December signalized his ferocity by causing a priest, two women, and several children to be impaled in front of his camp; but Ibrahim, pluming himself on good faith and humanity, supposed they might treat with him. He sent a message (January the 13th) desiring the garrison to depute to him persons who could speak Albanian, Turkish, and French, and offering any hostages they chose. The Greeks replied in the following laconic terms: "We are illiterate, and do not understand so many languages; Pashas we do not recognise; but we know how to handle the sword and gun." On the 27th, Captain Abbot of the English corvette, the Rose, transmitted an overture from the Capitan Pasha, declaring, however, that as a British officer, he would neither guarantee a capitulation, nor express an opinion as to its propriety: the answer was a civil but firm refusal to negotiate. Disappointed as they were in their

expectation of the siege being raised in winter, they yet flattered themselves that their agents at Nauplia would stimulate the government and the islanders to redoubled exertion, and that Karaiskaki would make a nocturnal attack upon the enemy. They supposed him to be at the head of a considerable force, when in fact he could not keep 500 men together, because the whole country from Salona to the Ambracian Gulf was an absolute wilderness: besides, Karaiskaki, although remarkably brave, was not a hero like Mark Bozzaris. The Egyptian army amounted (at an approximate reckoning) to 12,000 or 13,000 combatants, of whom 9000 were regular artillery and infantry, and the residue Albanians, Candiotes, and Moreote Turks; Kutahi had been rejoined by many of the Ghegs and Arnauts who deserted him in autumn, and as he gave out 15,000 rations it is likely that he had near 10,000 men; but a part was detached at Gouria, Lepenou, Makhala, and Karavanserai. After the departure of Miaulis thirty-five Egyptian ships went to Modon, deposited there 1000 sick and wounded, and returned with supplies and fresh troops. On the morning of February the 17th, the garrison perceiving that the enemy had made progress during the night in raising three batteries within 400 paces of the rampart, and opposite to the centre and flanks, directed a brisk fire against them; nevertheless the besiegers completed them by the 18th, opened seven embrasures in each, and the same evening began to work at a mortar battery behind the centre one, and distant 600 yards from the bastion of Bozzaris: in addition to these they were erecting another on the edge of the lagoon, at Aspri Aliki, to play upon the islets of Skylla and Klissova. Having given their epaulements such a thickness that the smaller guns of the besieged could make no impression, they armed their batteries on the night of the

23d, and at sunrise commenced a terrible cannonade and bombardment, throwing nine round shot, twelve bombs, and three howitzer shells, every quarter of an hour. Their fire slackened a little at night, became hotter towards morning, and lasted without intermission until the 27th. In these three days they discharged 8000 shot and shells, and the remains of the houses vanished under that hail of iron, but the loss of life was not severe, as the population, taught by previous experience, crouched in vaults and ditches: about twenty persons were killed, the majority of them females.

In the mean time the besiegers drew a parallel to connect their batteries, pushed three saps towards the fossè, and plied the garrison with musketry.

Two hours after midnight of the 27th, the Turks, amidst a shower of hand-grenades, and the roar of forty pieces of artillery, fiercely stormed an outwork constructed by the besieged out of the rubbish of Kutahi's mound, as a counterguard to the bastion of Bozzaris, and being supported by eight companies of Arabs, maintained themselves in it till daylight; when, with the first rays of the rising sun, the Roumeliotes unsheathed their sabres, overthrew them, and retook the outwork. Ibrahim and Reshid Pashas, then advancing, surrounded by guards, compelled their troops to renew the assault; but the Greeks, springing a fougasse, again repulsed them in confusion, and the action ceased before noon. At night the garrison sallied, broke into the enemy's trenches, and brought back a number of European muskets with bayonets affixed, as well as eighty African prisoners. It was observed on this occasion, that the Turks and Albanians fought with more spirit than the Arabs, and that the latter, whenever the Souliotes fell in amongst them sword in hand, were always ready to throw down their arms,

and cry for quarter. The disgrace and slaughter they had sustained induced the Satraps to resign all thoughts of assaulting on the land side, and henceforth their batteries only fired at intervals, but the fusilade was incessant: they still laboured diligently in perfecting and carrying forwards their approaches, while the besieged rained grape-shot upon their pioneers and disputed every inch of ground.

On first surveying the place, Ibrahim had been struck with the advantage that would result to him from commanding the lagoons, and therefore ordered Yussuf's flotilla, stranded and half rotten at Aspri Aliki, to be refitted, changing the shape of the boats, and taking away the masts and keels, so that they might float in the shallowest water. On the 1st of March he launched thirty-one flat bottomed praams, which sounded the depth of the channels, slightly engaging the insular batteries of Vassiladi and Klissova, and the feeble Messalonghiote flotilla. He caused more craft of the same description, as well as five stout rafts, to be built at Patrass, whence they were towed by his steamer on the 6th; and his ships of war returning from Modon, a strong division of the combined fleet anchored as close as possible to Vassiladi. Hussein Bey received instructions to make himself master of that shoal and blockhouse (the key of Messalonghi), which was defended by two brass eighteen, and twelve iron twelve-pounders; Captain Giachomouzzi, an Italian artillery officer, grown grey in thirty years' service (most of them active campaigns), commanded the garrison of thirty-four gunners, and twenty-seven foot soldiers. On the afternoon of the 9th, five rafts, armed with thirty six-pounders, cannonaded for some hours; and next morning forty flat-bottomed boats, carrying each a small gun and thirty Arab musketeers, made a general attack. Giachomouzzi saluted them with showers of grape-shot

from his eighteen-pounders, doing immense execution; but most of his men (Messalonghiote artisans) gave way, and the Arabs, forced on in crowds by their officers, stormed the islet. Four Greek gunners, scorched by the explosion of a bag of gargousses, fell into the enemy's hands; the rest of the garrison escaped across the lagoon; and Giachomouzzi himself, after struggling through mud and water for four hours and a half, reached Messalonghi, half dead with cold and fatigue. On Sunday the 12th, the Egyptian flotilla assaulted the mud bank of Dolma, (near Anatoliko,) protected by a battery, and occupied by 120 Pallikars under General Liaketas. In an obstinate combat of seven hours they had 300 killed and wounded, but finally carried it, and cut all the Greeks to pieces. Five hundred Souliotes and Roumeliotes, led by Tzavella, sallied on the same day to operate a diversion, stood a close and sanguinary shock with the Turks of Reshid, and being overpowered by numbers, retired into the place, bearing with them the heads of an European commandant of artillery, and of a Mohammedan Bimbashee,* slain in attempting to seize a Greek standard.

On the 13th, the people of Anatoliko, discouraged by the capture of Vassiladi and Dolma, surrendered, stipulating only for their lives; and the prisoners, who amounted to 3000, (men, women, and children,) were marched in two columns to Arta. Prompted by generous feelings, Sir Frederick Adam came to Krioneri in an English frigate, on the 17th, and had a conference with the Capitan Pasha; but he found the Satraps no longer solicitous to offer terms, and Ibrahim even avoided an interview; for, being in possession of the communication betwixt the lagoons and the sea, they

* We believe that this was an Austrian subject named Monteverde, who had been once a Philhellene.

were sure, by a little delay, of finishing the siege to their satisfaction. Pursuing the same system of reducing the outposts one by one, they resolved to assail the convent of the Holy Trinity, a tower seated on the shoal of Klissova, half a mile to the south-east of Messalonghi, and garrisoned by 130 Roumeliotes, with four small guns, under the command of Kizzo Tzavella. On the morning of the 6th of April, their rafts and gunboats opened a heavy fire against it, while the Turks and Albanians of Kutahi plunged with impetuosity into the swamp, and wading across tore down the exterior palisade; but having no scaling-ladders, and being unable to get into the tower, recoiled in disorder, when the Roumeli Valesi, riding forwards to animate his troops, was shot through the thigh with a musket bullet. Ibrahim then ordered Hussein Bey to advance at the head of two regiments of Arabs, and with culpable obstinacy persisted until sunset in exposing them to be butchered, the insurgents, from their loopholes, picking off at pleasure the miserable Africans, who stood up to the middle in water, resigning themselves to death. At length, after Hussein Bey and many other persons of distinction were slain, the Pasha sounded a retreat, whereupon Tzavella sallied out of his tower, boarded and carried seven launches that were aground, and set up a trophy composed of 1200 muskets and bayonets.* This was the bloodiest day Messalonghi had yet witnessed, upwards of 1000 dead bodies of Turks and Arabs floating about the lagoon, which was actually discoloured with gore; thirty-five Greeks fell in defending Klissova, and as many were wounded.†

* The Roumeliotes were very proud of such trophies, which in their eyes seemed to warrant their prejudices against European tactics.

† We feel pleasure in citing two signal instances of bravery displayed by the insurgents. In the heat of the action, the Khiliarch

Such was the consternation of the Moslems, that had the besieged thought proper to evacuate the place in the following night, they and their families would have met with little opposition; they had not in store a single ounce of corn, but ideas of honour, and some faint hopes of relief, induced them to hold out, as long as they could procure any aliment to appease their hunger. Their deputies at Nauplia proposed to government to sell a part of the national lands in order to send the fleet to sea, and a law was enacted for putting up to auction vineyards, olive-grounds, and gardens, to the value of 800,000 Spanish dollars. But as this was a tedious and uncertain measure, (the people generally doubting the validity of such sales,) the Executive had again recourse to voluntary donations, and agents travelled about to collect subscriptions. In fine, Miaulis sailed (March the 31st), and being joined soon after by a few ships from Spezzia and Egina, steered for the Ionian Sea, accompanied by the Messalonghiote deputies, who had received out of the treasury a sum of 230,000 piastres. The state of his armament indicated public penury and languor: he had but thirty vessels (two of them mistiks); most of these were very badly equipped, and some of the Spezziotes did not carry above twenty men.

On the 12th of April he was off Zante, and exchanged shots with the enemy's guard-ships, which giving an alarm, the Ottoman and Egyptian fleets quitted the gulf, and formed a line from the Scrofes to Cape Papas.

Drosinis, (accompanied by a youth of seventeen years of age, and nine soldiers,) loading a canoe with water and cartridges for the garrison of the tower, shoved off in the face of the enemy's flotilla; and although four of his comrades were killed by a cannon-ball, and five turned back, pushed through to the islet. Constantine Trikoupi, in a passara (or pinnace), armed with a three-pounder, gallantly engaged the Egyptian gun-boats, until she sunk, when he and his men swam to Klissova.

There was a long and indecisive action on the 15th, Miaulis with six brigs closely engaging for several hours fifteen heavy frigates and corvettes, while the rest of his squadron looked on from a distance; one brulot was burned, another got becalmed between two frigates, which covered her with grape, and yet she was towed into the rear, losing only her foreyard. Thirty men were killed and wounded on board the Greek vessels that really fought.

However strictly the Moslems watched the channels leading to Messalonghi, there was one narrow creek concealed by reeds, through which canoes and expert divers still introduced small parcels of grain from Petala, and by means of it the garrison despatched a letter to Miaulis, painting their extreme distress. He, and the Roumeliote officers he had with him, replied by a promise of succour, which they could never redeem; for the Turks, discovering the secret channel, intercepted the last Zantiote barks that tried to enter, and hanged the boatmen: thus the slightest intercourse with the besieged became impracticable. The Navarch did not yet despair, but stood off and on, manœuvring and skirmishing—wrote to Nauplia for more mistiks, and perceiving that Vassiladi barred him out of the lagoons, determined to man his launches, put sacks of flour on board them, storm the blockhouse, and force a passage up to the town. But ere he could execute his project, the fate of Messalonghi was consummated, and he went back with a heavy heart to Hydra.

The last act of this glorious tragedy was now approaching; since the first of April there were no rations distributed, the firing had driven away every kind of fish, and the people subsisted on cats, rats, raw hides, and sea-weed; they had no medicines, and the earth was strewed with sick, wounded, and famishing wretches. Ibrahim, who was aware of their sufferings, afraid lest

some accident should mar his prospects, on the appearance of the Greek squadron proffered the same terms that Anatoliko had accepted; but the Messalonghiotes would not listen to him, resolved that, if they abandoned the place, it should be with arms in their hands. To protract its defence was impossible, since three more days of starvation would not have left a living soul within the walls.

The chiefs, therefore, deliberating in council, decided upon cutting a lane through the enemy in such a manner as to give a chance of escape to the feebler portion of the population. Having fixed their sortie for the night of the 22d of April, they found means to transmit a message to Karaiskaki at Dervekistena,* apprizing him of their intention, and begging he would advance and assist them; they then communicated their plan to the citizens, and settled the necessary arrangements. Their disposition was—that 3000 fighting men (including the convalescents, and those who were slightly wounded) should fling themselves headlong on the besiegers' lines, and open a road for 1000 artisans, and 5000 women and children; that the whole, issuing silently from the eastern flank of the rampart, should assemble beneath the batteries of Rhiga and Montalembert, and lie prostrate until they remarked a signal from their friends without; that then breaking into two sections, the one on the right, to which most of the non-combatants were to be attached, should penetrate through Ibrahim's camp, while the other, headed by the stoutest soldiers, traversed the quarters of Kutahi, for they anticipated more resistance from the European Turks than the Egyptians; lastly, that reuniting at a vineyard, a league and a half from Messalonghi,

* This was not so difficult as may appear at first sight; any of their Albanians, slipping out in the dark, could mingle among those of the foe without fear of detection.

they should make the best of their way up Mount Zygos.* Their courage was high, their expectations of success sanguine, and perhaps not altogether ill-founded, if a Bulgarian deserter had not imparted their design to Ibrahim, a moment before its execution ; and the Pasha, although incredulous, neglected no precaution that might frustrate it, lining his triple intrenchments with artillery and infantry, drawing up his cavalry in the plain behind the camp, and sending a strong party of Arnauts to occupy the roots of Zygos. At sunset of the 22d, a discharge of musketry being observed on the summit of the hills, near the monastery of St Symeon, the generals mustered their soldiers; four bridges of planks were laid over the outward ditch, and a patrol went round the walls, announcing, that in two hours the sortie would take place, and enjoining profound silence, only the sentinels calling to each other as usual, and firing from time to time. The females all put on male attire, and generally girt their waists with swords or daggers, and weapons were given to such of the boys as seemed strong enough to use them : the printing-press was broken, the types buried, and the Messalonghiote gunners instructed to spike and overturn the cannon before quitting their batteries : but this order they did not obey. Many of the inhabitants of both sexes refused to leave their birthplace, and, as well as those individuals whom age, wounds, or sickness disabled from moving, shut themselves up in the ruins of a windmill, and some stone buildings, where the superfluous cartridges were deposited : a primate, named Kapsalis, retired with his family into the principal magazine containing thirty barrels of powder, by the side of which sat a lame veteran with a lighted

* Mr Green, in his Sketches of the War in Greece, has fallen into a gross, and we hope, an involuntary blunder, in stating that the women and children were placed in front.

match in his hand. When the persons that remained behind bade adieu to their friends and relations, the scene was truly heart-rending. In two hours a second patrol circulated, drawing off the posts, and directing every body to the eastern outlet; but it being found very difficult to collect the loitering Messalonghiotes, the bridge next the sea, and the least dangerous, was left exclusively for their passage. The soldiers of the garrison, their wives and children, crossed the moat, and lay quiet with their faces to the earth.

Whatever pains were adopted to prevent noise, yet the enemy having heard either the nailing of the bridges, or the weeping of females, poured incessant volleys of grape and musketry upon the eastern front of the rampart: most of their shot indeed flew over the heads of the Roumeliotes, but ever and anon some of the latter received a death-blow. During another hour the Greeks lay passive under this galling fire, looking for a sign of Karaiskaki's approach; until their impatience becoming intolerable, and the moon now shining brightly, a light whisper ran through the ranks, up they sprang, and with one simultaneous shout of "On! On! Death to the barbarians!" darted forwards, their muskets in their hands, and their sabres slung to their wrists. Neither ditch nor breastwork, neither the flashing peals of cannon and small arms, nor the bayonets of the Arabs, could arrest this tremendous shock; in a few minutes the trenches were passed, the infantry broken, the batteries silenced, and the artillerymen slaughtered on their guns. The enemy seemed paralysed by the vivacity of the onset, and a wide space was cleared, but unfortunately the crowd of Messalonghiote citizens did not follow their van. Instead of splitting into two fractions, according to the previous disposition, the Roumeliote warriors pushed across the plain in a solid mass; and well was it for them that they did so, since, at the

distance of a mile from the place, they were charged by 500 Mohammedan horsemen, through whom they vigorously cut their way. Unable to dissipate the front or flanks of the column, the troopers pursued its rear, marking a bloody track among the women, and those who were lagging through exhaustion. One squadron, wheeling to the left, met about 100 insurgents, who had evacuated Klissova by wading the lagoon, and were hastening towards the monastery of St Symeon, when a severe struggle ensued, and numbers fell on both sides. Delivered from the cavalry, the Christians began to ascend Zygos, and thought themselves in safety, but were suddenly checked by a destructive volley from a large body of Albanians posted in ambuscade: deceived by their dress and language, they at first took them for friends, but the error being soon manifest, Makrys led a brisk attack, and 300 of Karaiskaki's troops at length coming to their aid from the heights above, the Arnauts were driven off, and the wearied Greeks had leisure to breathe; having suffered more in this last encounter than in crossing the trenches and the plain. Meanwhile the Messalonghiotes were, with few exceptions, the victims of their own hesitation, and of a fatal cry that was uttered of "back to the batteries!" Supposing a retreat was ordered, they rushed into the town, which the enemy entered as soon as they; for the Turks and Arabs, eager for spoil, scaled the wall on all sides, and pounced upon their prey. Throughout the night shrieks and yells were mingled with a constant roll of musketry, and repeated explosions, as the enemy successively forced the stone buildings, and those within set fire to their ammunition. The grand powder magazine under the bastion of Bozzaris blew up with a horrible crash, tearing in pieces a multitude of Moslems: the windmill held out till the 24th, and a part of its defenders, as well as a certain number of soldiers from the houses,

saved themselves by swimming and wading amidst the water and tall reeds, whence some got on board Ionian boats, the enemy's fleet having immediately returned to the gulf. It was not alone the despair of the Greeks that occasioned loss to the Infidels, for the troops of Reshid, and those of Ibrahim, fought for plunder with much animosity, until the former were beaten out of the town: there is little doubt that the amount of their slain was fully equal to that on the side of the Christians.

Those fugitives who had gained the mountains, painfully dragged their wearied limbs through thickets of trees and brambles to Dervekistena (eight or ten leagues from Messalonghi), where they found Karaiskaki sick, and provisions so scarce that they could hardly obtain a mouthful. Extenuated as they were, they proceeded from thence to Salona, traversing a deserted waste without seeing either a habitation or a human being, and many fainting, and dying of hunger on the road: at Salona, the survivors enjoyed rest and refreshment.

According to the best testimony, Messalonghi contained, on the 22d of April, 9000 individuals; of these 500 were killed in the sortie, 600 subsequently starved to death, and perhaps 1800 escaped, near 200 of the latter being females.* Ibrahim boasted of having taken 3000 heads, and from 3000 to 4000 women and children were made slaves; but Philhellenic benevolence shortly afterwards redeemed several hundred hapless captives. In the list of slain were included—Joseph, bishop of Rogon; the municipal prefect, Papadiaman-

* Among numerous examples of the spirit of the Roumeliote ladies, we may cite the following:—A young girl, and her brother in delicate health, being overtaken by an Ottoman horseman, she, seeing that the youth was spent with fatigue, carried him on her back to a neighbouring hillock, seized his gun, received the fire of the Turk, and returning it, shot him dead.

dopoulos; the Generals Stornaris, Sadimas, and Athanasius Razi, who commanded the armed townsmen; the engineer Kokini; Dr Meyer, editor of the Greek Chronicle, six German Philhellenes, and two brothers of Spiridion Trikoupi. Two other Germans (Baron Riedsel and Lieutenant Rosser) had fallen during the siege, and one member of the municipality (Themelis) was dead of disease. What proves the robust constitution of the Roumeliote mountaineers, is, that at the head of those who broke through, were Nothi Bozzaris and Mitcho Kontoyani, chieftains seventy years of age. The brave Giachomouzzi also escaped in spite of his infirmities, and rendered himself useful by giving the soldiers wise counsel, and persuading them not to make a general discharge upon the cavalry, but to keep up a close running fire of from thirty to fifty muskets at a time. Papadiamandopoulos, born and bred a Moreote Kojabashee, afforded an instance of the change which liberty is capable of working in the human mind: having got on board the Greek fleet in February, and gone to Zante to procure supplies, he, when things were at the worst, returned through a thousand dangers to die with his countrymen; a sort of devotion, perhaps of all others the most difficult to practise. If Messalonghi stood a siege of twelve months, and for the last five sustained the whole weight of the war, the honour is due, first, to the unshaken valour and constancy of the garrison; second, to the skill and boldness with which Miaulis thrice relieved it, when on the point of falling; and, third, to the enthusiasm of the Zantiotes, who seemed to have taken it under their special protection, and expended a great deal of money in providing it with ammunition and food. When its catastrophe was published at Zante, the population of every class appeared in deep mourning, and manifested as profound affliction, as though some calamity had visited their own island.

With respect to the Greek soldiery, even their foes confessed that courage and patience could go no farther; we have, however, one reproach to address to the Souliote chiefs, and particularly Nothi Bozzaris; it is, that whenever matters wore a favourable aspect, they did not bridle their incurable improvidence and love of peculation. Setting aside this flaw, all was pure heroism, and the immortal laurels of Messalonghi may be entwined with those of Numantia and Saguntum.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK V.—CHAPTER II.

(No. I.)—*Copy of a letter written from Messalonghi by Dr Meyer, a few days before the sortie.*

THE labours we are undergoing, and a wound in the shoulder (a prelude to that which will be my passport to eternity), have hitherto prevented my writing to you. We are reduced to the necessity of feeding on the most unclean animals, we suffer horribly from hunger and thirst, and disease adds much to our calamities; 1740 of our comrades are dead; 100,000 shot and shells have overturned our houses and bastions; we are in want of firewood, and pinched by cold. It is an exhilarating spectacle to behold the ardour and devotion of the garrison amidst so many privations. Yet a few days, and these heroes will be incorporeal spirits. In the name of our brave soldiers, of Nothi Bozzaris, Papadiamandopoulos, and myself (to whom the government has intrusted the command of a corps), I declare to you, that we have sworn before Heaven to defend Messalonghi foot by foot, to listen to no capitulation, and to bury ourselves in its ruins. Our last hour approaches! History will do us justice, and posterity weep over our misfortunes! May the relation I have drawn up of the siege survive me!*

(No. II.)—*Extract of a letter addressed to Government by the principal officers of the garrison, dated Dervekistena, April the 12th, O.S.*

WE do not grieve so much for the loss of a place we watered with our blood, as that it should have fallen at a moment when the

* Meyer was sabred by the Turkish horse near the foot of the hills, his wife and child taken, and his description of the siege irrecoverably lost. The names of the Germans slain in the sortie were, Colonels Dittmar and Delaunay, Captains Lutzoff and Stitzelberg, Lieutenants Klemp and Schipan.

enemy was exhausted and desponding. In three sallies we cut down in the trenches near 3000 of his troops. On the 25th of March (O.S.) he assaulted Klissova by sea and land, with 8000 men; 3000 of them were killed and wounded in a battle which lasted from morning till night. Ibrahim's brother-in-law, his nephew, and Kutahi's wife's brother were killed, and Kutahi himself wounded. Alas! famine betrayed us. But fear not, for most of those who defended Messalonghi have come off with their swords in their hands. Wherefore we request you to send us the necessary orders and supplies; with bread and gunpowder, we can find another Messalonghi.

(Signed)

NOTHI BOZZARIS,
GEORGE KIZZOS,
GEORGE VAIAS,
DEMETRIUS MAKRYS,
BASIL KHASAPI.
KIZZO TZAVELLA,
CHRISTO FOTOMARRA,
MITCHO KONTOYANI,
GEORGE VALTINOS,

CHAP. III.

Internal affairs and financial arrangements of Greece, in the year 1825—Disposal of the second loan—Foreign intrigues, and first steps of European mediation.

THE remissness of the Hellenic Executive, in neglecting to put Navarin in a state of defence before the Egyptians landed, and Condouriotti's precipitate flight from Calamata, very much shook the consideration government had acquired by the result of the civil war: the forced change in its conduct towards the Antarts, from excessive rigour to caresses and flattery, coupled with the disputes between Mavrocordato and Coletti, brought it into total discredit. When Ibrahim, after dispersing Colocotroni's levies, pitched his camp under the walls of Nauplia, the Greeks were at their wits' end, and the idea of seeking foreign protection, which had lain dormant during the successes of the past year, revived in their minds, and became nearly universal. They were not, however, at all agreed as to what power they ought to invoke, and the division of opinion on that point rendered the business delicate and difficult. The islanders, headed by Mavrocordato, and the Moreote primates, leaned strongly towards England, as being the freest European kingdom, and the one best able to benefit Greece, which, from her geographical position, must, in order to flourish, be a maritime and commercial state. In opposition to them, a French party had sprung up since the arrival at Nauplia of

General Roche, who came there in the end of April, as agent of a Philhellenic Committee formed at Paris, and immediately set an intrigue on foot for calling to the throne of Greece a second son of the Duke of Orleans. He had the good fortune to gain Coletti (ever ready to guide a faction, and counteract Mavrocordato's projects), and this insured the adhesion of Ghouras, and most of the Roumeliotes, who neither knew nor cared about the politics of Europe. Ypsilanti, too, ranged himself among the partisans of the Duc de Nemours, for the Prince, although a Russian subject, was partial to France, and several ambitious young men (the Souzzos, Skouffos, &c.) educated at Paris, and violent ultra liberals, took the same side. Generally speaking, however, Roche made no solid progress: his intrigues were clumsy and ill disguised; several of his own countrymen at Nauplia ridiculed his plans as visionary; Admiral de Rigny (aware, perhaps, that the reigning branch of Bourbons had no wish to aggrandize the house of Orleans) threw cold water upon them, and, besides, depopularized the French name, by the harshness of his temper, and his complaisant behaviour to Ibrahim Pasha. On the contrary, the English commodore, who doubtless understood the intentions of his government, showed in all his dealings with the insurgents a nice tact and admirable discretion, that would have done honour to an experienced diplomatist, and completely captivated their affections. Colocotroni, and the Peloponnesian military chiefs wedded to Muscovite interests, remained neutral, paying no apparent attention to either party; because the clever statesman, whose counsels directed them, wished for European intervention, and felt that Russia could not take the initiative without exciting a degree of jealousy adverse to her ulterior views.

The eagerness with which Roche and Coletti press-

ed the execution of their scheme, by collecting signatures from the provinces, in favour of the Duc de Nemours' election, and endeavouring to have a law passed to that effect, obliged the English party to come to a trial of strength with them. On the 1st of August, an address was circulated in Nauplia, declaring that Greece put herself under the absolute protection of Great Britain, and confided to that power the preservation of her liberty and rights.* This act, approved by the Legislative body in a secret sitting, and which purported to be an expression of the national will, was signed by the vice-president, and two other members of the Executive, by Mavrocordato, and a vast majority of the senators, clergy, and notables resident in the capital: the eldest son of Admiral Miaulis was despatched to London forthwith, in a vessel of his own, to lay it before the British Ministry. Most of the islanders and Moreote primates adhered to the address with a sort of enthusiasm, but Condouriotti refused to sign it, for no other reason, than that among its promoters were the families of Miaulis, Tombazi, Zaimis, and Londos, whom he considered as enemies or rivals.

The Russian and French factions, led by Colocotroni and Coletti, although breathing mutual hatred, united in dissapproving the measure (the latter in a far more violent strain than the former); and General Roche, stung by defeat, published, in conjunction with an American (named Townsend Washington), a protest, couched in language neither sensible nor decorous, and which drew upon him a reprimand from the Paris committee.

While the propriety of the address was warmly discussed at Nauplia, the affairs of the confederacy went rapidly to ruin: Ibrahim extended his ravages in Pe-

* Vide Appendix.

loponnesus, and the danger of Messalonghi called for exertions Greece was no longer able to support, since the staff on which she had leant for a year was broken; in October the payments out of the second loan ceased.

Owing to the introduction of a regular system in the perception of taxes, the revenue for the year 1825 rose to the amount of 5,589,000 piastres (about L.93,000 sterling); but neither that sum, nor the increase of Philhellenic donations, were adequate to cover the current expenditure, on its actual scale of prodigality. Under these circumstances, it could hardly be pleasant for the members of government to retain office, divided among themselves, and clogged by a heavy responsibility; they yielded, therefore, with a good grace to the demand of the opposite factions, and by a decree (dated October the 6th), convoked a national assembly, ordaining that the representatives, about to be chosen, should convene at Nauplia by the middle of December. Both those who upheld, and those who impugned the act of protection, had private ends to answer in the meeting of a general congress; the first desiring to get the deed legally ratified, the second to have it altogether annulled.

The situation of Condouriotti and his colleagues during the last six months of their administration was very irksome: harassed by clamours for money from the fleet, the garrison of Messalonghi, the regular corps, and indeed from all quarters, they knew not which way to turn, and proposed to lay hands on the public lands, in defiance of a law enacted at Astros to guarantee their inviolability. After a long debate, the Senate rejected the plan of a sale, and in lieu thereof substituted a bill for borrowing a million of Spanish dollars, hypothecated on the national domains: however, as no lenders would come forward, the Executive

was forced to expose to auction some houses and gardens.

This allusion to the Hellenic revenue induces us to revert to an anterior period, and enquire, as briefly as may be, in what manner the financial concerns of Greece were conducted in London. In no long time after the arrival of the deputies, an evident coolness existed between them and their English friends, who, conscious that in procuring a loan they had conferred an important service, were too much inclined to erect themselves into a Board of Control, and meddle in matters beyond their competence.

The government naturally sided with its agents, and, provoked at the appointment of a mixed commission, and the consequent delay that occurred in paying over the cash shipped in the brig Florida, ordered them to have nothing farther to do with the committee: nevertheless, Orlando and Louriottis were wise enough to preserve a good understanding with several gentlemen of influence belonging to that body.

In the autumn of 1824, Captain Hastings returned to London, after two years' service in Greece, bringing letters from the Executive Council, recommending the deputies to adopt a suggestion of his for equipping an armed steam-vessel. As the funds of the first loan were then nearly spent, they declined doing so; but on the conclusion of a second one, authorized Messrs Ricardo (March 5th 1825), to appropriate L.10,000 to the above purpose. The vessel (a corvette of 400 tons, called the Perseverance) was well and speedily built in Mr Brent's yard; and Galloway, the engineer, undertook to provide the machinery, so that she might be ready for sea by the middle of August; but not being bound under a penalty, kept his word so ill, that she could not sail until May 1826.

In July, Lord Cochrane returned from South America; and soon afterwards Sir Francis Burdett, and Messrs Ellice, Hobhouse, and Ricardo, advised the deputies to engage his splendid talents in support of their cause. They assented, and on the 17th of August entered into written stipulations with his lordship, obliging themselves to purchase, arm, and equip six steam-boats (including the Perseverance), to be placed under his command, as admiral of a foreign auxiliary force; to assign L.150,000 for the expense of his expedition; to pay him at the outset, by way of remuneration, L.37,000, deducted from that sum, and L.20,000 more when the independence of Greece should be secured. As the deputies were to procure vessels in any mode they thought best, we may conceive with what astonishment they learned that Messrs Ricardo had, unknown to them, contracted for the machinery of four new steamers with the same Galloway of whom they had already so much reason to complain, and still without attaching any penalty to non-performance. To make bad worse, it was decided, at Lord Cochrane's express desire, that experiments should be tried with high-pressure engines; and it resulted from this strange complication of blunders, and the tone of bullying employed to silence the just remonstrances of Orlando and Louriottis, that of the five steam-vessels last ordered, none left the Thames until nearly two years had glided away, and three rotted in the river. Thus were L.120,000 of the second loan swallowed up in London.

On the western side of the Atlantic the Greeks were yet more infamously used by some of their pretended friends. The government instructed Louriottis to have frigates of a moderate size built for them in America, and he, unwilling to cross the ocean, was persuaded, by the importunity of several distinguished Philhellenes,

to send out as his agent General Lallemand, with a very handsome salary, and letters of introduction to the two houses of Roy Bayard, and Howland, the last named individual being president of the New York Greek committee. On the general's arrival, and consulting with those houses, he took upon himself to direct the construction of two first-rate frigates, of sixty-four guns each, without contracting for the cost. Accustomed to be browbeaten, and lulled by the tenor of Messrs Roy Bayard and Howland's flattering correspondence, which spoke only of their own upright views and sympathy for Greece, the deputies suffered them to proceed, and cashed bills for L.155,000; but in December 1825 less agreeable letters from the two houses announced, that if they did not disburse an additional sum of L.50,000 they could not have the frigates, which would be sold to the highest bidder.

Unable to raise that money, the deputies in the following month of March despatched to New York Mr Kondostavlos, an intelligent Sciote merchant, who succeeded in saving one of the ships; for many honourable men in the United States being heartily ashamed of the transaction, it was brought before Congress, and the American Government agreed to buy one frigate in order to redeem the other, which ultimately sailed for the Mediterranean.

To sum up, near L.400,000 of Greek money were spent on the building of two frigates, and in defraying Lord Cochrane's expedition of six steam-boats, which ought to have been at Nauplia before the end of 1825; the first steamer (the Perseverance) reached Greece in September 1826, the Hellas frigate in December of that year, Lord Cochrane in March 1827, a second steamer in September 1827, and a third and last in September 1828.

It would be superfluous to append any reflections to

this plain statement of facts, neither shall we stop to examine what portion of blame falls to the relative share of the different persons more or less connected with these disgraceful jobs. With how much justice might not the Greeks have repeated the Spanish proverb, "Defend us from our friends, and we will guard against our foes!"

News of his lordship's preparations coinciding with the request for English protection, gave umbrage to the Porte, and the Reis Effendi having presented a strong remonstrance to the British minister at Constantinople, it was thought expedient to make a parade of neutrality. There appeared in the Gazette (October the 1st) a royal proclamation, pointedly stigmatizing the contemplated expedition, and enforcing the provisions of the foreign enlistment act, and an Order in Council prohibiting the exportation of munitions of war; measures easily eluded, and fraught with no real hostility.

On the continent of Europe, ardent and genuine Philhellenism, hitherto restricted to the mountains of Helvetia, and a few petty German cantons, now invaded with rapid strides the whole region bounded by the Pyrenees, the Vistula, and the Austrian confines. In February, a small knot of men, illustrious for rank or talents, established at Paris a society for aiding the Greeks, and offered admission to all who would annually subscribe fifty francs. Its primary object was the education of a few youths, sons of approved patriots; but the prodigious affluence of members, and the patronage of the Duke of Orleans and other exalted personages, enabled it to extend its scope. The provinces followed so zealously the example of the capital, that in two or three months almost every town in France had its affiliated committee pouring subscriptions into the chest of the parent society, whose receipts up to

the close of this year amounted to 190,000 francs, or L.7600 sterling. Much larger sums accrued from the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland; and as by a judicious arrangement the whole was thrown into one mass, and intrusted to the able management of Mr Eynard, the Philhellenes of Europe constituted a numerous and compact body, useful to Greece in more ways than one. On two occasions, during the summer, vessels went out from Marseilles with officers, military artificers, and stores; but it was not till next year that Philhellenism made truly gigantic efforts in behalf of Hellas, and by prolonging her existence for eighteen months, gave time for the slow and roundabout march of diplomacy to come to her rescue.

Demetrius Miaulis, on his arrival at London, in October, delivered into the hands of an under secretary of state, the paper called the act of protection, with an explanatory memorial, containing a petition, that the Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg might be appointed sovereign of Greece. The British ministry held no official intercourse with him beyond receiving the papers, and merely stating that a reply would be transmitted through the Ionian Islands; but the steps immediately adopted, proved how agreeable his mission was. Mr Stratford Canning, nominated to the embassy at Constantinople, being desired to feel the pulse of the insurgents, and ascertain the nature of their pretensions, passed through Corfu, and on his voyage from thence touched at the Metoikhi (opposite to Hydra), where he conferred with Mavrocordato on the 9th of January 1826. A basis of mediation was then laid down satisfactory to both parties, the ambassador avowing the incompatibility of a mixed residence of Turks and Greeks in the revolted countries, and Mavrocordato assenting, in the name of the latter, to a recognition of the Sultan's supremacy, and the pay-

ment of tribute. When they separated, a sudden storm had nearly put an end, if not to the negotiation, at least to the negotiators: the Admiral's ship, which conveyed Mr Canning, was stripped of her canvass, the Algerine brig-of-war foundered, and Mavrocordato was wrecked in the channel of Hydra.

Intelligence of their meeting being quickly carried to Constantinople incensed the Turks, and the ambassador, on landing in that city, found the Divan in very bad humour, and nowise disposed to yield the slightest concession; for the stiff-necked Mussulmans could not rightly understand the fine-spun threads of Western policy, and would not see, that to save them from the gripe of Russia, rather than the Greeks from theirs, was the object sought.

For the last ten years, since the cessation of the stupendous wars engendered by the French Revolution, an active struggle had been going on in Christendom betwixt two opposite principles, the Liberal and Conservative; or, to use a formula their disciples applied to each other, those of anarchy and despotism; and however much the means employed might vary according to the institutions of different countries, there was no variety of purpose. To inculcate passive obedience, to crush the expression of public opinion, to squeeze the people, that absolute kings and privileged aristocrats with their herds of dependent sycophants might fatten upon the spoil, was the aim of the ruling party, and their weapons, corruption, hypocrisy, bigotry, and bayonets. Against them were marshalled a small band of disinterested philanthropists, an immense mass of plebeian talent and ambition, and the bulk of the industrious classes, galled by the pressure of their burdens, and apt to confound liberty with license, change with amelioration, religion with a grasping and worldly-

minded church, and the lawful exercise of monarchical power with tyrannical abuse. As yet the Despots, Ultras, and Tories, had kept a decided ascendency; and as, in the sense of the Holy Alliance, the Greeks were anarchists, whose destruction would have been matter of congratulation, it could scarcely be hoped that the former, by countenancing them, would give the Liberals the first triumph they had to boast of in the Old World. But close union was indispensable to the safety of the Conservative party; and such was the political dishonesty of some of the powers, and the jealous distrust they all entertained of each other, that any enterprise of one of them, not previously sanctioned in conclave, sufficed to burst their bond, and let in the common enemy. Russia was the ogre which affrighted her compeers, and Turkey the apple of discord.

Every statesman in Europe knew, that for a half a century the court of St Petersburgh had fomented troubles in the East; that the society of the Hetœria, and its consequence, the Greek insurrection, were conceptions emanating from a confidential minister of the Emperor Alexander; and that, although in 1821 the autocrat curbed his own inclinations and those of his subjects, his views were not altered. Count Nesselrode's note, presented to the great powers in 1823, proved this clearly enough; and therefore the English cabinet, thinking it worth while to conciliate Greece, skilfully obtained a preponderance there, but in so doing necessarily weakened British influence at Constantinople. Alexander, perceiving that he was losing ground among the Oriental Christians, seemed disposed to change his pacific system, and get up a quarrel with the Ottomans, when, in November 1825, in the midst of his projects, death surprised him on the shore of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. That event, however, by no

means dispelled the inquietude of England, France, and Austria, since his successor was a young and aspiring prince, fond of glory, and goaded on by the cries of a fanatical army, whose impatience for battle he could hardly restrain. Making then a sacrifice to the spirit of the age, in a remote corner of Europe, appeared a lesser evil than suffering the continuance of a plausible pretext for Muscovite ambition to lay hold on. While Mr Canning was instructed to mollify the Turks, and pave the way for an accommodation between them and the Hellenes, the Duke of Wellington set out for St Petersburgh (February 1826) in order to soothe the Emperor Nicholas, and, by offering the bait of a joint mediation, prevail upon him to submit to the arbitration of his allies his own dispute with the Porte. In this latter point the Duke failed, the Emperor rejecting foreign interference in an affair touching the honour of his crown; but he readily concurred in a proposal of intervention so favourable to Russian policy, and of which he expected to reap all the fruits. On the 4th of April, the Duke of Wellington, Prince Lieven, and Count Nesselrode, signed a protocol, the corner-stone of Grecian emancipation.*

Its purport was, that his Britannic Majesty having, in consequence of an application from the Greeks, consented to interpose his good offices to put an end to their contest with the Turks, and desiring to concert his measures with his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, it was agreed that Greece should be a dependency of the Ottoman Empire, paying an annual tribute, and governed by native authorities (in whose nomination the Porte was to have a voice), enjoying liberty of conscience and freedom of trade. That the

* Parliamentary papers.

two high contracting parties reserved to themselves the time and mode of hereafter effecting the above arrangement, and should communicate confidentially this protocol to the Courts of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin, with an intention of inviting their co-operation and guarantee.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK V.—CHAP. III.

*Act placing Greece under the protection of England.**

THE clergy, the representatives, and the naval and military chiefs of the Greek nation, considering, That the Greeks have taken up arms in defence of mankind's natural and imprescriptible right to freedom of property, religion, and liberty, and have for four years resisted the colossal forces of Egypt, Asia, and Africa, thereby acquiring a title to political existence: That the agents of certain Continental and Christian powers have persisted in a line of conduct opposed to the principles which those powers profess, and that several of the said agents endeavour through their emissaries to draw the Greeks into improper engagements: That the Greek marine is hampered and persecuted by some admirals, who pay no attention to the neutrality which their courts proclaimed at Laybach and Verona: That Christians, armed in favour of the Koran against the disciples of the gospel, instruct and lead on the barbarous hordes which devastate the land of Cymon, Leonidas, and Bozzaris: That the free government of Great Britain is the only one that has observed a strict neutrality, but that its neutrality no longer suffices to guard the Greeks from unjust and increasing persecution: That (thanks to Divine Providence) the forces of his Britannic Majesty are close at hand, and that in this desperate struggle we ought to have recourse to the philanthropy of his government. We therefore prescribe, determine, and enact the following law.

Article I. In virtue of the present act, the Greek nation places the sacred deposit of its liberty, independence, and political existence, under the absolute protection of Great Britain.

* We have lopped off a load of redundant words and useless repetitions.

II. This act shall be accompanied with two copies of a memorial addressed to the revered government of his Britannic Majesty.

III. The president of the councils shall immediately execute the present law.

(*Dated*) *Nauplia,* $\frac{\textit{July 20th,}}{\textit{August 1st,}}$ (1825.)

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAP. I.

Operations in Eastern Greece and Peloponnesus during the winter and spring of 1826.

SECTION I.

IBRAHIM's success caused a revulsion of public opinion with regard to the utility of regular troops; and many persons, who had opposed their establishment, being anxious now to palliate their own defeats, began to descant upon the value of discipline, which the Philhellenes and agents of all the committees were continually labouring to impress on the minds of the insurgents. Taken as an abstract proposition, the superiority of that species of force is incontestable; but when applied to the circumstances of a country like Greece, it was susceptible of considerable modification. To form the whole militia into trained battalions was obviously impossible, because such a measure would have required a despotic government, a large permanent revenue, and hearty obedience on the part of the population; elements not one of which existed: sending into the field a small body of infantry was only exposing it to be abandoned and cut in pieces, as had been amply proved at Petta. To fight pitched battles was no business of the Hellenes, in a territory like theirs, so propitious to guerilla warfare; especially as in skirmishing, harassing an enemy, and defending posts, their irregulars showed an intelligence and acharnement that few

disciplined soldiers could equal: in enduring hardships, running, and climbing rocks, no men in the world can surpass them. Their principal disadvantage was owing to a want of cavalry to cover the advance and retreat of the Pallikars from the loose charges of the Ottoman troopers, and we are persuaded that the money laid out in organizing a regular brigade would have been better spent in maintaining 500 light horse, and two companies of artillery to be distributed through the fortresses. In the latter, the Philhellenes might have been useful; and for the former, serviceable horses could always have been procured, and there was a sufficient number of Servians, Bulgarians, and Asiatic Greeks, as brave and as expert riders as the Turkish Delhys. At any rate, the period for organization had gone by, the pecuniary resources of government being at a stand, since the last instalment of the second loan (L.50,000) was paid at Nauplia on the 22d October. Mavrocordato was chiefly solicitous to augment the regular corps, as well from a conviction of its necessity, as a desire to counterbalance the power of Colocotroni and Coletti; the one being Generalissimo of Peloponnesus, and the other having the Roumeliotes at his devotion.

The first thing to be done was to get an efficient commander, and luckily there was in Greece exactly such a person as Mavrocordato required. This was Colonel Fabvier, a distinguished officer of the French imperial army, educated in the artillery, and for many years attached to the staff of Marshal Marmont. To a body of iron he united science, genius, and an ardent passion for military renown; having lived two years in Greece, he had gained an insight into the character of the people, and was so indifferent to money, that he never accepted any emolument. He was reproached with a harsh and overbearing temper; but had he been more bland, he might have lacked that extraordinary

energy and impassibility, without which he could never have battled through innumerable crosses and obstacles. As the colonel happened to be at Napoli when Ibrahim advanced to Argos, the government made him superintendent of the batteries, and after the Pasha's retreat, determined to put him at the head of the regulars, with means to arm and equip several thousand men. On the 4th of July the wretched battalion of Rhodius was finally given over to him in presence of the Executive, a deputation of the Senate, and the clergy: prayers having been recited by an archbishop, and speeches delivered by Mavrocordato and Count Metaxa, Fabvier took an oath of fidelity to Greece, and the soldiers swore obedience to him. As voluntary enrolments furnished only recruits of the worst class, the government published (September the 22d) a law of conscription, enacting, that out of every hundred males, between the age of sixteen and thirty, one should be drawn by lot; one-third of the conscripts to be renewed annually, and the whole term of service not to exceed three years. The monthly pay of a private foot soldier was fixed at sixteen piastres; of a gunner, twenty; and a horseman, twenty-five; with a complete suit of clothing, and for his subsistence a daily ration of 300 drams of bread, a portion of oil and firewood, and fifteen paras in money.* Promotion was to depend entirely upon merit; but at the commencement, grades of rank, from captain downwards, were offered to those who could produce certain quotas of recruits. The cavalry was dressed in green, the artillery and infantry in blue faced with red; but the colonel himself always wore the Hellenic garb, such being the wish of government. From France and England the deputies forwarded, for the use of the corps, 6000 suits of uniform, as many

* Sixteen piastres made about five shillings, and fifteen paras three halfpence.

muskets with bayonets, a train of fieldpieces, a large quantity of gunpowder, with sabres, pistols, lances, saddles, &c. Fabvier was extremely fortunate in meeting with a man who possessed capacity and probity enough to perform the functions of intendant-general; this was Count Porro, a Milanese nobleman proscribed by Austria for his liberal opinions: although nursed in the lap of luxury, and advanced in life, he showed uncommon activity of mind, was an excellent accountant, and soon made himself master of the Greek language. Monsieur Regnâult de St Jean d'Angely, a brave and skilful officer, undertook to discipline the cavalry. As amidst the disorders of Nauplia organization appeared impracticable, Athens was pitched upon for the scene of this experiment; and Fabvier, proceeding thither after his unsuccessful attempt against Tripolizza, entered it (October the 17th) at the head of a battalion of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and a company of artillery; leaving a weak battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Rhodius to garrison the capital. For a while the jealousy of Ghouras was very troublesome; suspecting that a scheme was on foot for depriving him of the citadel, he took the same precautions as though an enemy had been in the town, and his soldiers had several affrays with the regulars. At length Fabvier's frankness got the better of the Greek chieftain's distrust: attended by a single officer, he one night knocked at the gate of the Acropolis, and being introduced into the presence of its governor, told him he was come to sup with him. This proof of confidence was irresistible; Ghouras treated him with a splendid banquet, returned the visit next day in as unceremonious a manner, and professed himself ready to command a battalion under the colonel's orders. The law of conscription was generally carried into effect; but the Peloponnesian recruits deserted as fast as they

arrived at head-quarters; the islanders, however, and the peasants of Attica and Megaris not being averse to the service, in January 1826, the regular corps amounted to 3000 men, 500 of whom were in Nauplia, and the rest at Athens. Impatient to lead them into the field, Fabvier naturally turned his eyes towards Messalonghi; but there were too many difficulties in the way, since, if even a long march in the worst season of the year had not ruined his young brigade, he could not have subsisted it for a day in the mountains of Etolia, already gleaned by Karaiskaki's band. Eubœa, close at hand, seemed a tempting prize; he was struck with the justice of Philip's remark, that he who is master of that island is master of Greece, and those among whom he was living flattered his hopes of success. In no former campaign had the Turks of Karysto and Negropont so sorely harassed Attica, and therefore the Athenians urged him to invade Eubœa, and gave him very erroneous information regarding the facility of conquering it. Having decided upon the expedition, Fabvier marched out of Athens (February the 24th), followed by two battalions of regular infantry, presenting a force of 1800 bayonets; three troops of light horse, numbering 250 men, and 140 horses; 90 gunners, with four three-pounders; and 700 irregulars, called Stavrophores, from a red cross impressed on their garments, dressed and armed in their own fashion, and attached as tirailleurs to the corps, of which indeed they formed the flower: the Captains Maimouri, Leckas, and Steffo headed them. Five hundred conscripts, the kernel of a fourth battalion, were left in depot at Athens.

The colonel took the direction of Tanagra, with the purpose of trying to surprise the castle of Karababa, the tête-de-pont of Negropont: he had prepared scaling ladders, but a Piedmontese captain of grenadiers,

to whose care they were intrusted, abandoned them on the road, choosing rather to load the mules assigned him with skins of wine. Fabvier went in the night-time to reconnoitre close under the walls of Karababa, and finding it too strong to yield to a coup-de main, gave up the plan, and marched by Kalamos and Kapandriti to Marathon, where he arrived on the 1st of March. By a proclamation in his own name, dated the 4th, he declared the coasts of Negropont in a state of blockade, and to enforce it employed a schooner he had purchased and fitted out, which captured a rich English vessel from Constantinople. Contrary winds detained him at Marathon till the night of the 15th, when he ferried his army across the strait from Port Rafti to Stura in Eubœa, and immediately advanced without resistance to Karysto, defended by 600 Turks.

His observations during this short movement convinced him how much he had been misled by the Athenians; instead of populous and well-stocked villages, as they led him to expect, he perceived that the country was a desert, its inhabitants having migrated long before. After occupying the heights, and surveying the town and fortress of Karysto, he indulged the ardour of his troops, who with loud cries demanded an assault, and ordered six companies of the first battalion, supported by the fire of his fieldpieces, to possess themselves of a walled suburb, where Odysseus had made good a lodgement in December 1823. They commenced the attack with impetuosity, and penetrated into some exterior houses, when the axles of their small guns (wrought in London of defective iron) suddenly snapping, the cannonade ceased on the side of the assailants, just as the Turks brought a battery of heavy calibre to bear upon them. Discouraged by this accident, and the dastardly conduct of one or two Greek officers, the soldiers gave way, and were driven out of the suburb.

Fabvier resolved to make another essay; but the reports of his scouts, announcing that Omer Pasha was in full march from Negropont with a column of 1500 Mussulmans, 400 of whom were horse, induced him to fall back to a position near the sea, a league and a half from Karysto. As he was moving off, the garrison sallied, charged his brigade, and although repulsed, occasioned a loss of fifty killed and wounded. He remained unmolested for several days, intending to resume the siege of Karysto when he should receive a reinforcement of nine-pounders, for which he had written to Athens. In Omer Pasha, however, he had to deal with an opponent of known spirit and vigour, and nowise inclined to rest satisfied with a partial success. The Greek cavalry having gone out on the evening of the 25th to cut grass in the meadows of Yerka, was surprised by that of the Ottomans, who, climbing in the dark a woody, and to all appearance an impervious hill, descended into the plain at sunrise, while far above their foot soldiers were seen winding along the ledges of rock. Hastily retreating through defiles to seek the protection of their infantry, the insurgents were hotly pressed by the Moslems, who decapitated a dozen of the hindmost troopers. Fabvier, in anticipation of a general engagement, drew up his brigade behind a ravine, to wait for the enemy's onset. Unluckily his squadrons, now re-formed in the rear, being taunted by the Pallikars, crossed the hollow valley without orders, while their commander was conversing with the colonel, and rushed in confusion upon the Delhys: the latter giving back a little, to entice them on, faced about, charged and pushed them headlong into the ravine. Regnault, who rode after his horsemen in order to halt and rally them, was surrounded by Turks, and owed his life to his strength and address, returning to the position with his sword bent and bloody. Nevertheless the volleys of the bat-

talions and Stavrophores checked the foe, and the result of this action was indecisive; but the rout of the cavalry, and the spectacle of the headless trunks of their comrades scattered over the ground, so thoroughly disheartened Fabvier's troops, that on the 27th he was under the necessity of withdrawing them to the point of Petalidi (opposite to Marathon), where were some old tambourias formerly thrown up by Griziotti. A council of war recognised the inutility of prolonging the campaign in Eubœa, but at Petalidi the colonel had only two barks, and could not quit the island until boats were collected. Even that last hope seemed to be denied him, for on the 29th eleven armed Turkish craft from Negropont began to cruise in the strait, intercepting his communication with Attica. The Pasha again approached on the 30th with 2000 men and two guns, seized a knoll which Fabvier's advanced guard abandoned with disgraceful precipitation, and raising a battery almost within musket-shot, cannonaded the Greek intrenchments with tolerably good aim, while the broadsides of the flotilla played upon them from the sea. The insurgents were unable to answer the enemy's artillery, because their fieldpieces, after being repaired, had failed anew at the first discharge. Blockaded by land and water for five days, in want alike of food and ammunition, exposed to a galling cross fire, his regulars utterly demoralized, obliged to go the rounds at night in person, and to depend for the safety of every hour upon his own vigilance and the resolution of the Stavrophores, the colonel's situation was most critical. The friendly zeal of his intendant-general, and the promptitude of the insular primates, extricated him from imminent destruction. Informed at Athens of his danger, Count Porro wrote to Egina, and instantly went himself to Hydra. Two hours after the reception of his letter, three Psarrian brigs and a schooner got

under weigh; the Hydriotes despatched some vessels with equal speed, and five came from Syra, bringing provisions, and 700 irregulars, commanded by Vasso and Griziotti. On the 4th of April, twelve sail of Greeks rounded Cape Sunium, and at the first glimpse of their masts the Pasha's flotilla took shelter in Karysto. Next day the sick and wounded were carried on board the shipping, and refreshments distributed to the soldiers, who were in sad plight from cold as well as hunger, not having dared to light fires, because their blaze afforded a mark to the Ottoman gunners. The operation of embarking, in the presence and under the fire of an enemy, men blinded by terror, was not easy, but Fabvier managed it with great coolness and judgment, causing his troopers to swim their horses across an arm of the sea to a little islet, whence they could be hoisted commodiously into the vessels: he and Maimouri were the last to leave the strand. In the night of the 6th, all were aboard, and a fair wind wafted them to Zea, Andros, and Tinos. They lost during the expedition about 200 men, a trifling diminution compared to that which ensued after its conclusion, at least one half of the battalions deserting. It was remarked by European officers, that a brother of Grivas, and other Roumeliotes enjoying a high character for bravery, who had entered Fabvier's corps, manifested in action before Karysto a craven spirit, a circumstance very easily accounted for. Accustomed to trust solely to their bodily strength, swiftness, accurate vision, and skill in handling their weapons, they were perfectly bewildered when stuck up in line to be shot at like targets, or crushed and elbowed in a column. Although the Klefts of Northern Greece were an infinitely finer race of men than those of the class likely to enlist as Taktiki, yet it was not without reason that Fabvier told the government, "he would rather have white than blotted paper to write upon!" From

the Cyclades he transported his regulars in boats to Athens, where a mutiny took place, in consequence of there being no money to pay their arrears. As the primates would give nothing, and Ghouras did the colonel every ill office in his power, calumniating him, and working on the minds of the officers, Fabvier went to Piada to tender his resignation, which the National Assembly, then sitting in that town, positively refused to accept. Regnault departed for France, and was succeeded in command of the cavalry by Lieutenant-Colonel Almeyda, a Portuguese.

The Moreotes did not turn to account, as they ought to have done, Ibrahim Pasha's protracted absence from the Peninsula. However, in the middle of winter, a fresh plan was laid for escalading Tripolizza, and its execution committed to Colocotroni, who, ordering a general levy, collected (January the 6th) 7000 men at Agladocampo. Thence moving to Steno, he fixed the assault for the night of the 8th; but if we may judge from the negligence of his dispositions, he was far from sanguine respecting the event, and therefore probably little disappointed at the misbehaviour of his army. Not one of the divisions ventured to go near the walls, and ere morning dawned the whole dispersed. The Mohammedan horsemen issuing out in pursuit killed fifty Peloponnesians, made six prisoners, and cutting off their ears and noses, sent them to Colocotroni, with a message desiring him, when he came again, to bring soldiers and not day-labourers. Subsequently, Nikitas established himself in the pass of Makryplai, erected three towers, and repulsing the Arabs of Suleyman Bey, who tried to throw supplies into Tripolizza, was on the point of starving the garrison. Such was its distress, that a party of Arnauts opened a correspondence with the Christian authorities, offering to betray a bastion to them, and some of their agents actually visited

Nauplia; but as no Greek cash was forthcoming, the matter dropped.

We may here briefly allude to a foolish enterprise of the insurgents, undertaken in spring against the coast of Syra, with the avowed object of exciting a revolt among the Maronites of Mount Libanus. In reality it only promoted the private interest of the chiefs Griziotti and Vasso, who, under the pretence of providing funds and stores, grievously oppressed several islands with arbitrary requisitions, enriching themselves at the expense of the people. Of 1500 men assembled for the expedition at Syra, and paid in advance, half declined to embark; with the rest, escorted by two ships of war, they sailed in March, landed near Bayrout, fought one skirmish with the Turks, and then returning to Syra, proceeded to join Colonel Fabvier at the moment he was evacuating Eubœa.

CHAP. II.

Third National Congress at Piada—Installation of a new Government —Troubles at Constantinople—Treaty of Akerman—Ibrahim Pasha's second Campaign in Peloponnesus—Naval Operations.

SECTION I.

ALTHOUGH the Greeks took great pleasure in holding national assemblies, yet whenever they were called they lost three months in disputing about a place of meeting: such was the case in the present instance.

Nauplia had first been talked of, then Megara, and at length the Archbishop Germanos persuaded all parties to agree upon Piada in Epidauria, the seat of the first General Congress. The deputies were summoned for December, but it was not until the 18th of April that the assembly, attended by 127 representatives, formally constituted itself under the presidency of Panouzzos Notaas; John Logotheti of Livadia was vice-president, Papadopoulos secretary, and Londos commanded the military guard.

Two momentous questions came to be discussed; the application for English protection, and the choice of a new governing commission, the old Executive having surrendered its power into the hands of the deputies as soon as the latter commenced their session. Elements of disunion, and even civil war, were not wanting, but the disastrous news that poured in of the fall of Messalonghi, and the defeat of Fabvier's corps, assuaged the fierceness of faction, and prevented a repetition of the broils of Astros. Humbled by misfortune, the Greeks

clung to a twig, and on the motion of Spiridion Trikoupi, it was resolved, almost unanimously, that a public letter should be written to the British Ambassador at Constantinople, requesting him to use his influence to bring about an immediate truce and subsequent peace with the Porte, and delineating an outline of the terms on which Greece was willing to treat. These were conformable to the basis laid down by Mr Stratford Canning and Mavrocordato, with the addition of one or two articles, which seemed quite inadmissible; such as the cession of fortresses possessed by the Sultan, and extending the benefit of the arrangement to every canton that had taken up arms since 1821. (Vide Appendix.)

Prince Ypsilanti, (as organ of the French coterie,) having entered a strong protest against the resolution of applying to a single European power, the reading of that paper produced a violent exasperation, and a decree depriving him of his rights as a Greek citizen. A change, and not an advantageous one, was wrought in the type of government, in order to allay the bickerings of different provinces of the confederacy, each of which insisted upon being represented in the Supreme Directory. Two commissions were named: one Executive, of eleven members, presided by Andreas Zaimis, for the management of civil and military affairs;* the other Legislative, or rather a standing committee of the Congress, having at its head the Archbishop of Patrass; and to it was intrusted the conduct of the negotiation.†

* For the Morea, Andreas Zaimis, Petro Bey, Anagnosti Delhiyani, and Sisini; for Roumelia, Spiridion Trikoupi, John Vlakhos of Athens, and Zotos of Zeituni; Tzamados from Hydra, Anarghyros of Spezzia, Monarkhides, a Psarrian, and Demetrakopoulos for the Islands of the Egean sea.

† Germanos, archbishop of Patrass, Porphyry, archbishop of Arta, Panouzzos Notaras, Kopanizza of Mistra, Anastasius Londos, Dariotis

On the whole, the Peloponnesian primates acquired an ascendency, and all the persons elected into both councils were supposed to be English partisans. Colocotroni was continued in his office of general of the Morea, Ghouras appointed to the command of Eastern and Karaiskaki of Western Hellas. The sales of national lands lately effected were declared to be null and void, a blow chiefly aimed at Condouriotti, who had been the principal purchaser. Fabvier's presence being required at Piada, he appeared at the bar of the assembly, spoke with force and dignity, ascribing his defeat to factious intrigue, and the insubordination of his officers, and offered to resign his command. That proposal was instantly rejected, and the colonel exhorted not to abandon Greece in her distress, and soothed with promises of future support.

After a session of ten days, the Congress adjourned to the end of September, the epoch to which the powers of the two councils were likewise restricted.

On the 29th, the members of the new government entered Nauplia in a quiet and sober manner befitting their adverse circumstances, and gave their first public audience on the morning of Easter Sunday.

Never since the revolution began had so deep a gloom hung over the nation, and the liveliness of Hellenic fancy magnifying the danger, it was expected that in a few days Ibrahim would encamp under the walls of the capital, and the Capitan Pasha repeat at Hydra the tragic scenes of Psarra. In vain the Congress and the Executive published proclamations to comfort the people: money, not words, was needed, and the treasury contained only sixteen piastres (about five

and Boukouri (two Arcadians); Dr Kolliycropoulos of Corfu, Emanuel Xenos, Basil Boudouri of Hydra, George Ainian and Belisarius (Roumeliotes), and Dr Renieri, a Cretan.

shillings) in base coin. Seeing no prospect of drawing pay, the sailors were in a state of mutiny, the regular corps on the point of breaking up, and Colocotroni, who erected his flag at Argos, could not collect 2000 men. The Primates of Hydra and Spezzia sent away their hidden wealth, and would fain have absconded with their families, had they known where to go, and could they have escaped from the populace, which, suspecting their design, kept watch, sullenly declaring, that whatever fate befell the islands, should be common to all ranks. If the Septinsular ports had then been open to refugees, the insurrection would have ended in the flight of some and the submission of others; but as the Ionian government no longer wished the extinction of Greece, it denied admittance, and thereby saved that country from falling back into slavery.*

At this critical period there came a pecuniary supply, which, though small in amount, yet being unlooked for, had a happy effect in restoring moral confidence, and obviating part of the evils likely to result from such absolute penury. The deputies in London having intrusted to an English Philhellene a sum of L.14,000, (the last sweepings of the second loan,) with uncontrolled power of disposing of it, he arrived at Nauplia in May, and an dea that he was Lord Cochrane's precursor, imparted an useful stimulus to the flagging courage of the nation. The empty magazines of the capital were replenished, and a subsidy of L.3500 enabled Fabvier to reorganize his corps, just as it was about to disband.

The systematic and perverse opposition of Ghouras making it inexpedient for the French colonel to quar-

* The Condouriottis and Bottasis craved permission to emigrate to Cerigo, which was refused them: their departure would have been attended with the most fatal consequences.

ter his troops in Eastern Greece, he, from Salamis, conducted them (June the 1st) to the plain of Aria close to Nauplia, incorporated the battalion hitherto left in the city, and punished the intrigues of Rhodius, by cashiering him, and several officers of the same stamp; an instance of just severity that tended much to the improvement of discipline. However, the vicinity of a corrupt and disorderly town was no fit station for young soldiers, and Fabvier selected Methana as a spot better adapted to his purpose.

Methana is a promontory of Peloponnesus in the ancient territory of Trœzene, composed of conical mountains of lava, and joined to the mainland by a neck betwixt a deep and sheltered bay to the east, and an open roadstead to the west. Thither he transferred his corps, erected two batteries to guard the port and Isthmus, built storehouses, and laid up magazines. Behind him, the villages within the promontory, flourishing under his administration, supplied resources, and in front the plain of Trœzene afforded cantonments for his artillery and cavalry: here he calmly prepared his men for active service.

Amidst the panic that pervaded Greece, great anxiety was felt with regard to Hydra, lest the Turkish fleet, after refitting at the Dardanelles, and embarking an Asiatic army, should suddenly fall upon it. Spezzia was still more exposed to hostile occupation, and were Ibrahim once master of it, he might at his leisure blockade Napoli by sea and land. The government, therefore, suggested the necessity of its people removing their shipping and families to Hydra, and in concert with the primates of the latter isle, used every argument to smooth down Spezziote pride and suspicion. With much difficulty a coalition was brought about, and a quarter of Hydra being allotted for the accommodation of its jealous neighbours, the population

of Spezzia went there en masse (in the second week of June), leaving their own town empty. While the united squadrons were getting ready for sea, a garrison of 1000 Stavrophores, paid and maintained out of the fund above alluded to, was introduced into Hydra; Fabvier reinforced it with nine companies of infantry and one of artillery, promising to go there in person if the enemy appeared; and as the Castriotes and Kranidiotes engaged to throw themselves into the island upon the first alarm, the concentration of sixty armed vessels, 21 fire-ships, 5000 sailors, and 4000 troops and militia, set a Turkish coup-de-main at defiance. These measures continued in force for six weeks, until all present fear of an attack from the Capitan Pasha having blown over, the garrison was withdrawn, and the Spezziote families returned home. A beginning of defensive arrangements being thus made at an expense not exceeding L.8000, the machine was kept in motion by the Philhellenic committees, which for a full twelvemonth bore the whole charges of the war.

In France, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Poland, and Sweden, one common enthusiasm confounded all distinctions of society, and the glorious funeral of Messalonghi produced in Christendom a spirit resembling that of the crusades. The King of Bavaria, the royal house of Prussia,* the Princess Sophia of Sweden, and the Duke of Orleans, patronised and largely swelled the subscription lists; and as the splendid donations of the higher classes were surpassed by the humble but countless offerings of peasants and artisans, Europe paid to Greece, during the year 1826, a contribution of L.70,000 sterling. The greater por-

* Besides liberal anonymous subscriptions, the King of Prussia sent an officer to Greece with pecuniary succour to the German Philhellenes.

tion of this sum was employed in purchasing military stores and bread corn; and in July Mr Eynard's agent consigned at one time, to the authorities of Nauplia, twelve cargoes of flour, lead, and gunpowder. A good deal of peculation on the part of the Greeks themselves was inevitable; but nevertheless, into whatever lateral channels these supplies might be diverted, their utility was beyond dispute, since every ounce of bread eaten, and every cartridge fired by the soldiery, came from the Philhellenic funds.

Fabvier received money to pay his troops, with abundance of ammunition, clothing, and biscuit; and the Paris committee forwarded to him by way of Marseilles about 100 officers and volunteers.

When the approaching arrival of Cochrane with his steam-boats was announced to the insurgents, it caused transports of joy, which his inexplicable delay converted into sickening disappointment.

For some months their hopes were fanned by the sight of merchantmen entering the port of Nauplia, and laden with coal, gunpowder, and heavy guns for his flotilla, and by the reception of successive letters from London, each positively stating that Captain Hastings was on the point of sailing in the Perseverance, and that his lordship would quickly follow. Tantalized by so many broken promises, the Greeks at last concluded that Galloway had sold them to the Pasha of Egypt, with whom they knew he had dealings, and despaired of ever seeing either Cochrane, the American frigates, or the steamers. Their ideas on this subject were confirmed in July, by a letter from Hastings, announcing, that in consequence of the Perseverance's engine failing, he had been forced to put into Cagliari, and would require six weeks to repair it. Soon afterwards they learned that Lord Cochrane was actually in the Mediterranean, on board a schooner;

but as none of his steam vessels were as yet nearly completed, there seemed not the most distant chance of his taking a part in the operations of the present campaign.

The President Zaimis possessed considerable merit, and, in the two commissions named at Piada, were several men of fair talent and business-like habits; but the councils were too numerous and too motley to be efficient, and the action of government being paralysed by its poverty, it soon fell into disrepute. Warned by the manner in which the loans had been spent, the Philhellenes suffered none of their money to pass into the treasury, and owing to the enemy's devastations, and the malversation of some members of the Executive, the revenue, which, in 1825, Mavrocordato had raised to five millions and a half of piastres, sunk this year to 1,650,000. Bearing in mind, that in each of the two previous campaigns the fleet and army had cost L.300,000, we may conceive what embarrassments awaited the government, besieged as it was by increasing demands.

The heroes of Messalonghi finding themselves without means of longer subsisting at Salona, fell back to Megara and the Isthmus of Corinth, and on the 28th of May, the Generals Nothi Bozzaris, Kizzo Tzavella, Zervas, George Kizzos, Makrys, and Natches Fotomarra, made their entry into the capital, under a salute from the batteries: they were welcomed with a profusion of compliments, but they wanted a more solid sort of coin, the Souliotes alone presenting a claim for 800,000 piastres of arrears. In the castles of Palamede and Itchkàle were 600 Roumeliotes, commanded by old Fotomarra, and these men, who had not been paid for many months, uniting their cause with that of the Souliotes, a dangerous mutiny ensued. It was appeased by the government's disbursing 8500 dollars appertaining to the sum recently transmitted from London,

and a subscription of 10,000 piastres collected among the town's people, who trembled lest their houses should be sacked: this calmed the soldiers, and the avidity of their chiefs was glutted by allowing them to draw daily 14,000 rations, and sell the overplus, thus exhausting the stores amassed to provide against a siege. Zaimis and the Peloponnesian primates took advantage of the confusion to carry on a double intrigue, with a view of getting hold of the citadel, and prosecuting Coletti, to whom they owed a debt of vengeance for the injury he had inflicted upon them in 1824. Their schemes were frustrated: they succeeded, indeed, in procuring Fotomarra's expulsion from Palamide; but the fortress, after changing masters three or four times in the course of forty-eight hours, remained in the hands of Theodore Grivas, who was as arrogant, covetous, and insubordinate as the old Souliote. Their design of bringing Coletti to trial raised such a ferment amongst the Roumeliotes, that the government fled affrighted to the castle of the Burj, and was shut up there for several weeks.

Overcharged as it was with population, Nauplia presented a mournful and disgusting spectacle; the streets heaped up with filth, the buildings dilapidated, the square and coffeehouses full of idle military men and gay loungers, the lanes crowded with sick and hungry paupers; every where the contrast of vanity and riot, with beggary, disease, and death. The members of government resided in the Burj, Grivas commanded the Palamide, Fotomarra the lower town, and the two latter observed a hostile attitude towards each other. Outside of the place, all the adjacent ground was covered with kalyvias, or temporary huts of the Moreote peasantry, driven under the walls by Ibrahim's ravages. With the hot sun of June, typhus fever again broke out in this focus of infection, sweeping away

among its first victims the Archbishop of Patrass, and Spigliotaki, one of the late Executive. Although Germanos was in some respects a remarkable man, and had played an eminent part in the revolution, his death excited no regret, and he was forgotten as soon as the grave closed over him. Meanwhile, peculation and pillage went on briskly, and in so barefaced a manner, that an agent of the Paris committee being desirous to send corn to the garrison of Karabusa, was advised to purchase it from the national magazines. Not only did the Greek authorities defraud of their freight the English merchant captains, who brought out a fine train of artillery, by protesting Messrs Ricardo's bills, they were even unable to find men and boats for landing the guns, which were therefore thrown negligently into the salt water, at the foot of the Burj, and many of the carriages burnt for firewood.*

Faction was as busy as ever, the abettors of English connexion, who were in power, being assailed with undisguised fury by the French, and more insidiously by the Russian party. Each contemplating a vigorous struggle when the adjourned Congress should re-assemble, mustered its strength, and magnified the importance of its foreign relations. The Russo-Greeks, who had no official correspondence to show, dwelt with complacency on the high tone assumed by the Emperor Nicholas in his controversy with Turkey, and a recent visit of Count Capodistria to Paris. Coletti, wishing to have something more positive to go upon, wrote to the Duke of Orleans, asking in plain terms whether he would allow his son to reign in Greece, and obtain the sanction of Europe to that arrangement: he received a reply which damped his hopes, the Duke

* Hastings first, and subsequently Lord Cochrane, saved most of the stores intended for them, by sending before officers to take charge of them.

declaring, that however flattering to himself as a father such a project might be, he did not think it practicable. Notwithstanding this rebuff, and the consequent lukewarmness of Coletti, the French faction redoubled its enmity against the authors of the act of protection, and the Hydra Journal (devoted to Condouriotti) teemed with violent diatribes, imputing to Zaimis and his colleagues a treacherous collusion with England, and an intention of making Greece a hospodariat. The sole document the Anglo-Greeks could yet exhibit, was Mr Stratford Canning's answer to the application transmitted to him from Piada; in which he praised the National Assembly for the moderation of its proposals, and intimated that he expected instructions from his court to commence a treaty of mediation.

To add to these distractions, in August the province of Corinth was torn by a feud betwixt two youthful cousins of the family of Notaras (John and Panaighoty), both equally vain, cowardly, and tyrannical, who disputed the ripe crop of currants, and the hand of a beautiful and wealthy heiress. John Notaras (commonly called Arkhondopoulos) was in possession of the Acrocorinthus, and hired a body of Roumeliote mercenaries, while the militia of the country supported his cousin: blood was shed in various conflicts, the town of Sophiko, on the Saronic gulf, sacked and burnt, and the only district of the Morea, which the Egyptians had spared, cruelly wasted. To put an end to their pernicious contest, the Executive deputed its President, with the Bey of Maina, the Archbishop of Arta, and Delhiyani; and Colocotroni likewise hastened to Corinth. But instead of restoring peace, their interposition threatened to extend the evil; for Zaimis espousing one side, and Colocotroni the other, a general civil war was very near ensuing.

Similar troubles, arising out of the collision of rival

primates, afflicted the cantons of Mistra, Vostizza, and Kalavryta: in short, the Moreotes seemed determined to consume in mutual strife every moment of respite given them by Ibrahim.

On the 14th of August, the standing committee of the National Assembly, which was in close league with the eleven directors, emitted a proclamation convoking the Congress for the 1st of September, O.S., and naming Poros as the place of meeting. That the session should be held in an island, did not square with the private views of Colocotroni, and therefore a knot of Peloponnesian representatives addressed a petition to the committee, praying it to change that article, and fix upon Hermione. September came, and not the least preliminary step was yet taken, both the English and Russian parties having their own reasons for delay. In the interim the government learned that George Condouriotti, whose limited capacity did not exclude a large share of ambition, had gone to reside at Poros, where his influence was great; a circumstance that induced the eleven to choose another locality farther from the Morea. They kept silence, however, until they had such a communication from Mr Canning as they thought might secure them a majority. On the 19th of October, an English brig of war brought them a letter from the ambassador, stating that he had received instructions to submit to the Porte a plan for the pacification of Greece, founded on the demands of the assembly of Piada; and adding, that by the 22d of the same month, the differences between Russia and Turkey must terminate either in war or peace; and that, in the latter case, a Russian minister would be sent to act in conjunction with him. Captain Hamilton subsequently presented a second note from Mr Canning, requesting the Greeks to retain in office the men with whom his official intercourse had begun, or at least to empower them to con-

tinue the negotiation. Thus fortified, the partisans of England and of mediation assumed more boldness, and transferred the seat of government to Egina, where Zaimis and most of his colleagues arrived on the 23d of November, alleging in a public edict the necessity of their superintending from a neighbouring point the important operations in Roumelia. The legislative commission accompanied them, having first summoned the deputies to convene in that island, and announced that as soon as two-thirds of them were met, the session would open. Nevertheless the question was as far from a decision as ever; the brothers Condouriotti, drawing after them Hydra and Spezzia, insisted that the Congress ought to sit at Poros, and Colocotroni with his friends took up his abode at Hermione.

SECTION II.

FROM the preceding summary of the posture of affairs in Greece, it would seem clear that by pushing another campaign as smartly as the last one, the Mussulmans might have strangled the insurrection before the protocol of April the 4th bore its fruit; but Turkey and Egypt were exhausted by the siege of Messalonghi, and ere they had time to breathe, Russian menaces, and a perilous sedition at Constantinople, reduced the Sultan to a state of impotence, and cooled the zeal of the Egyptian Satrap.

The clever cabinet of St Petersburgh, which had been watching events for five years, perceived that now was the moment to strike in, lest the game should be utterly lost; and the Emperor Nicholas, immediately after his accession to the throne, manifested a resolution of cutting asunder the knot tied by Strogonoff in 1821. The Duke of Wellington's overture, so far from

restraining the Czar, gave him a right he had not distinctly claimed, of interfering in the settlement of Greece, while it left him unshackled to finish, as he thought proper, the truly Muscovite quarrel with Turkey. On the 5th of April (the day after the protocol was signed), Mr Mintshaky delivered to the Porte a note, enouncing the three following articles, on whose acceptance an amicable adjustment of the negotiation was to depend.

I. A complete re-establishment of the ancient institutions in Moldavia and Wallachia, particularly with respect to the provincial militia.*

II. The liberation of the Servian deputies (imprisoned since 1821), and redress of the grievances of Servia.

III. Sending to the frontier plenipotentiaries, to arrange definitively with those of Russia all the points that had been litigated betwixt the years 1816 and 1821.

To this ultimatum, which admitted of no middle course, the Reis Effendi replied verbally that the Porte would consult her allies: a phrase referring to Austria alone. Count de Wimpfen arrived with despatches from Vienna on the 28th, and next day, the Internuncio, in a long conference with the Turkish minister, advised him to accept. On the 1st of May, sixteen Tartars brought intelligence of the taking of Messalonghi, and the exultation of the Mohammedans caused them to hesitate: however, the Internuncio renewing his arguments on the 4th, the Reis Effendi called the first interpreter of the Russian legation, and told him the Divan acceded to Mintshaky's propositions, and would give a written answer in that sense after the Bayram, which happened on the 9th.

The Servians were set at liberty, couriers sent off to

* Although in 1824 the Turks agreed to evacuate the principalities, they never fulfilled their promise.

Bucharest and Yassy, with orders to the Turkish detachments stationed there to recross the Danube, and Hadi Effendi and Ibrahim Effendi, named by the Sultan as his plenipotentiaries. When the Ottoman official acceptation (dated May the 14th) reached St Petersburgh, the Emperor gave a fresh stab to Mussulman pride, by appointing for the scene of conference the town of Akerman, within his own dominions.

It was to gain time that Sultan Mahmood yielded these preliminaries so easily; on the main question he determined to oppose a stiff resistance, without quailing at the idea of possible hostilities, and, considering the conquest of Greece as a thing that might be postponed, but was ultimately certain, he directed most of his troops to march towards the Danube. For his defence against Russia, he was not disposed to rely upon the disorderly levies of Anatolia and Roumelia: he had long wished to improve the constitution of his army, and if any doubts regarding the value of discipline lingered on his mind, they were removed by contrasting Ibrahim's victories with the constant defeats of the Ottoman forces. Faithful to the maxims imbibed from his uncle Selim, he, during eighteen years, meditated the extinction of the corps of Janissaries, whose anarchical privileges crippled the empire, and showed as much circumspection in preparing their downfall, as he did energy at the instant of execution. They always suspected his intention, and for the last six months sundry indications convinced them the blow was at hand; but they saw also that to anticipate it by rebellion would be a hazardous step, for the Sultan had gradually wove a net round them. 14,000 Topjees of sure fidelity were quartered in the artillery barracks, camps of provincial troops formed on both sides of the Bosphorus, and the Pashas commanding them, as well as the Grand Vizier, Grand Admiral, and their own Aga,

or general, known to be personally devoted to Mahmoud, who, having secured the concurrence of the Ulemas, or men of the law, entered boldly upon the work of reform.

At the end of May, after several councils of state had been held at the Porte, an imperial Hati sheriff promulgated a novel plan of organization, so contrived as not to wound too suddenly and deeply the interest of the Janissaries. Their statutes and privileges were preserved, and those who drew pay allowed to enjoy it during their lives; but without the faculty of selling or alienating it, and at their demise it was to cease. From their ortas, or regiments, amounting to 196, fifty were selected to furnish each a company of 150 men, to be clothed in uniform, and armed and trained after the European fashion. The Hati sheriff being publicly read at the residence of the Sheik Ul Islam, the staff of the Janissaries swore to obey it: renegadoes and Egyptian officers were employed to drill the men, and although the latter grumbled, things went on quietly enough for a fortnight. As no additional impost was laid on, the people seemed well pleased, and the obnoxious word Nizami'jedid was carefully expunged from the new regulations. On the night of June the 14th the smothered flame furiously burst out: the Janissaries, rushing from their barracks, assailed the palace of the Porte, where the Vizier dwelt, that of their Aga, and the house of Mehemet Ali's agent. Those three personages escaped by flight, but their palaces were pillaged, and their families shamefully treated. At daybreak, the whole body of mutineers, to the number of 20,000, assembled in the At Meidan, or Hippodrome, brought forth their kettles, and uttered seditious cries against the Sultan and his counsellors, and execrations against the Nizami'jedid.

While, instead of attacking the seraglio and the bat-

teries, they were indulging in clamour, plunder, and every excess, the Sultan turned the morning to better account; the Topjees, crossing the water from Top Hanè, with some pieces of artillery, joined the Bostandjees in the imperial palace; troops marched in from the European and Asiatic camps, and the Grand Signor, hastening to Constantinople from his villa of Beshik Tash, put himself at their head, unfurled the sacred standard of Mohammed against the venerated kettles of Hadji Bektash, and invited by proclamation all true believers to rally round it.

Thrice exhorted to submit, the rebels answered, that they would not lay down their arms unless the recent regulations were abolished, nor until they received the heads of their Aga, the Grand Vizier, Hussein Pasha, and Nedjib Effendi. A fetva of the Mufti then pronounced them excommunicated traitors, and Hussein Pasha was ordered by the Sultan to march upon the At Meidan, with 8000 or 10,000 artillery men, followed by the other loyal troops, and a crowd of fanatics, who flocked to the prophet's banner. The shock, though violent, was of short duration; their solid wedge being mowed down by grape-shot, the Janissaries retreated to their barracks, which were quickly set on fire, and the conquerors giving no quarter, the slaughter was horrible. A few hours sufficed to extirpate this turbulent militia, which for more than two centuries had bearded its sovereigns; their name and corps were for ever proscribed, and those whom the fire and steel of battle had spared, were diligently hunted out, and dragged before a permanent military tribunal sitting in the Hippodrome, which proceeded with such expeditious rigour, that 1000 persons were put to death daily. On the score of policy, Mahmoud's cruelty might be justified; no compromise was possible with the rebels, whose broken remnant and secret partisans proved

the implacability of their resentment by treasonable placards and nocturnal conflagrations; and the Sultan, proposing Peter the Great for his model, determined to root out the Janissaries as completely as that Czar had destroyed the Strelizzes. His frightful severity had for its result the passive acquiescence of the rest of the empire in changes which nine-tenths of the Mussulmans detested. For ten weeks the Vizier and the great functionaries lived under tents in the outer court of the seraglio, collecting the reports of spies, and weeding the city by execution or banishment of every class of men that gave umbrage to government, until, no more victims remaining, the sacred standard was struck September the 3d, and carried back to its chest, in sign of the restoration of tranquillity.

The Sultan, wrapped up in the formation of regiments, laid aside the robes and turban of his predecessors, wore a military dress of his own invention, and superintended in person the instruction of recruits. Meanwhile, one calamity after another pressed upon Constantinople; it was visited by a dreadful plague, and on the 31st of August, a fire, kindled by incendiaries, consumed 25,000 houses. This revolution interrupted the negotiation with Russia, the Turkish plenipotentiaries, who had set out before it began, halting at Adrianople till its issue was decided. They went at length to Akerman, and after presenting a haughty note, protesting against the indignity they suffered in being forced to go beyond their own frontiers, attended a first conference on the 13th of August, in which they demanded, as a preliminary measure, that Russia should cede the forts she held at the mouth of the Phasis. Rather surprised at such a proposal, the Muscovite envoys, (Count Vorontzoff and the Marquis Ribeaupierre,) who had come to exact and not concede terms, refused to listen to it, and the negotiation stood

still. This exactly suited the Turks, who hoped to spin out the business for many months; but the Emperor Nicholas would not be trifled with. He confounded the Ottomans by the immediate despatch of a second ultimatum, declaring, that if before the 7th of October the Porte did not comply with his pretensions touching the navigation of the Euxine, the affairs of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia, and consent to liquidate the claims of Russian subjects, his troops would pass the Pruth. Language so intelligible brought the Turks to their senses, it being evident even to the most presumptuous amongst them, that if it had been thought imprudent to brave the emperor with a bad army, it would be still worse now, when they had no army at all. The Sultan had made a false calculation of the space of time requisite for maturing his plans, and had as yet enrolled only 15,000 recruits, mostly mere children, without officers or the least proficiency in tactics: he also knew that a volcano was beneath his feet, and that a foreign invasion would be the signal for its eruption. Boiling with indignation, the Reis Effendi sent off final instructions to Akerman, and the Ottoman commissioners signed, October the 6th, a pure and simple acceptation of the arrogant conditions imposed by Russia. As soon as the treaty was ratified, Mr Stratford Canning signified to the Porte, in as guarded a manner as diplomatic forms would allow, the protocol of St Petersburgh, and the intended mediation in favour of Greece.

A communication of such an unpalatable nature, in a moment of extreme ill humour, moved the bile of the Turkish ministers, who hardly vouchsafed a negative reply, and the ambassador deferred further instances until he might, upon Mr Ribeaupierre's arrival, be backed by the representative of that power, whose arguments alone had any weight with the Divan.

SECTION III.

In the beginning of May a general dislocation took place of the Turkish and Egyptian forces, which with so much labour and bloodshed had accomplished the destruction of Messalonghi. On the 11th the Capitan Pasha, with forty men-of-war, sailed in ostentatious triumph close to the harbour of Zante, and continued his voyage to the Dardanelles: two days after, the Egyptian fleet left the gulf for Navarin, and on the 20th proceeded to Alexandria. Ibrahim returned to Patrass, where he reviewed his army, and found that of 8000 or 10,000 Arabs whom he carried into Etolia, he had now but 3500 under arms. Uniting to them his cavalry, Albanians, and the garrison of Patrass, he advanced to Kalavryta, and sending back from thence Delhi Ahmet Pasha, made an attempt himself upon the rich and famous monastery of Megaspilion, whose position being almost inaccessible, the monks, aided by some Moreote captains, easily repulsed him.* At the same time, Suleyman Bey, with 2500 regular infantry, marched along the coast of Messenia from Modon to the Alpheus. On the 22d, Ibrahim entered Tripolizza, followed by about 6000 troops, and 1000 horses and mules, laden with flour and biscuit for its starving garrison. He quitted it on the 29th, taking the direction of Karitena, but meeting opposition in the passes, while Colocotroni observed him from Mount Parthenius, he turned towards Mistra, whence the two primates, Yatrako and Zakharopoulos, who were engaged in a civil war, fled at his approach. Colocotroni, Nikitas, Londos, and Chrysanthos Sisini, posted themselves at Ma-

* The reverend fathers were less afraid of the Pasha's storming the convent, than of its being plundered by their allies, whom they never admitted into the interior of the building.

kriplai: however, the Pasha dissipated their bands, (June the 3d,) opened a way, sword in hand, and, by the road of Nisi, reached the Messenian fortresses, having burned the little town of Andrizzena, and lost a good many stragglers, cut off by Nikitas. For a month he remained inactive near Modon, keeping his army outside of the place, to avoid the pestilential contagion raging there and at Coron. He then undertook an expedition against Maina, being eager to subdue that country, whose warlike inhabitants were a constant source of annoyance to him. Although the Mainatts, divided into the factions of Mavromikhali and Myrtzinos, had ceased to interest themselves in the general affairs of Greece, they were determined to protect their own independence, and despising the Satrap's threat of putting them all to the sword, occupied the fastnesses leading into their district. Two brigs of war (in one of which Ibrahim embarked), accompanied by transports, ranged the Laconian shore (July the 3d), cannonading different points: next day, the main body of the Egyptians, cavalry and infantry, regulars and irregulars, presented itself before the defile of Verga, (in front of Armyros,) where the Mainatts were intrenched. The latter reckoned their own number at 5000, and that of the Mohammedans at from 7000 to 8000. The advantage of ground, however, was altogether on the side of the Greeks, who, after an action of ten hours, obliged the enemy to retire upon Calamata. On the 6th, Colocotroni came up with 2000 Peloponnesians, but found that his aid was not necessary, the Egyptians having fallen back to the plains, whither the insurgents durst not pursue them.

While the Moslems suffered a repulse at Verga, their squadron on the same day landed a body of troops, who took possession of Tzimova; but when they endeavoured to penetrate into the interior, the people rose

with one accord, the women being the first to assail them, by rolling stones from the rocks: Constantine Mavromikhalis hastening to the spot with a party of warriors, the Arabs retreated to the sea-side, and, after sustaining several attacks on the 5th, 6th, and 7th, reimbarked with such precipitation that many were drowned.

About this period an Egyptian column was beaten by the Greek guerillas near Arkhadia, and a detachment of 200 of the militia of Karitena having surprised a convoy in the strait of Makriplai, captured so large a booty, that each man shared 300 piastres. At the end of June, Ibrahim received a reinforcement from Candia, and on the 13th of July, the Capitana Bey entered the port of Navarin, with a division of the Constantinopolitan fleet, consisting of two line-of-battle ships and twenty frigates, corvettes, or brigs. The Pasha then marched again to Tripolizza, forced the passes, and revictualled the garrison; that being apparently his chief object in the present campaign.

His reverses in Maina encouraging the insurgents, Colocotroni went to Nauplia, closed the places of public resort, and posted up a proclamation, summoning to join him all who were able to bear arms, and containing an assurance, that the Philhellenic committees had supplied him with means to feed his troops. He left the town on the evening of the 24th, attended by Nikitas, with a corps of Roumeliotes and Asiatic Greeks, and about 200 horsemen; for besides the Bulgarians of Hadji Mikhali, the government had (much to Fabvier's dissatisfaction) put the regular cavalry under his orders. Ibrahim, who had no information of his approach, having gone out on the 30th to ravage Karitena, Colocotroni, on the night of the 31st, occupied two villages in the plain, with his forces divided into two bodies; one of Arcadian and Laconian infantry, supported by the regular cavalry, which the Portu-

guese colonel Almeyda commanded; the other of the Roumeliotes and Asiatics of Nikitas, with the irregular horse.

Early on the morning of August the 1st, three companies of Arabs drawing near the village of Mehemet Aga, Almeyda, at the head of his two troops of chasseurs and lancers, suddenly charged, and cut them almost entirely to pieces before they had time to form a square. As soon as the alarm was given at Tripolizza the garrison sallied, and the Turkish cavalry advancing rapidly, the Greeks fled to the hills; they did not, however, lose above thirty men, while 200 Egyptians were killed, (including several officers), and two of their standards and six drums taken.

Upon the news of this affair, Ibrahim returned full of wrath, and the insurgents dispersed; the regular cavalry, disgusted at serving under Colocotroni, marched away to rejoin Fabvier in Attica, and the contention of the two cousins Notaras called the Peloponnesian generalissimo to Corinth. Moving his army in three separate columns, the Pasha wasted Tzakonia, and turned towards Astros, where he was met by the indefatigable Nikitas, who, arriving by sea from Napoli, threw himself with 800 men into a castle built on a tongue of land by the Primate Zafiropoulos.

On the 16th, 18th, and 20th days of the month, detachments of the enemy assaulted, without success, both that post and the convent of St John of Thyrea, which was used as a hospital for wounded Greeks: foiled in his attempts, Ibrahim proceeded to Mistra, and, reuniting his columns, resolved to wipe away the disgrace he had experienced in June, by invading Maina from the eastern side of Taygetus. He overran the fertile plain of Helos, as far as the bottom of the Gulf of Kolokythia, and began to ascend the mountain on the 8th of September. A son and a nephew of Petro

Bey, with a few hundred Mainatts, stopped him for a whole day at the hamlet of Miniakova, whence they retreated to that of Polyzarova, a stronger position, seated beneath the snowy summits of St Elias. Next morning the Egyptians stormed half the village, the Mavromikhalies vigorously disputing the other half; during the engagement the Cacovouliotes, and most of the male population of Maina poured in, and assailing Ibrahim's flanks with the agility of goats, defeated his Arabs, unaccustomed to tread on slippery rocks, and compelled him to retrograde in disorder to the vale of the Eurotas: it is affirmed that this sharp combat cost him 400, and the Mainatts 200 men. Seeing that neither horse nor regulars could effect any thing against the Eleuthero Lacones, sheltered by their barrier of Taygetus, he retraced his steps to Tripolizza, and from thence made an excursion into the northern districts of the Morea, advancing to St George, (within six leagues of Corinth,) destroying every house where he passed, and carrying off the crops of Indian corn.

On the 10th of October he re-entered Tripolizza, and having deposited there the provisions he had amassed, commenced his march to the coast, and arriving at Modon (November the 14th), put his troops into winter-quarters. In his second campaign he certainly did considerable mischief to the peninsula, which he traversed in so many directions, plundering, burning, and taking slaves, grain, and cattle, but he did not permanently conquer a foot of ground, neither did he receive the submission of a single village. The Peloponnesians, now habituated to his inroads, withdrew with their families and portable property into caverns* and convents, where they defied him, the efforts he sometimes made to dislodge them turning invariably to his confusion.

* The Morea abounds with spacious caves, generally high up the mountains.

Near Mistra, thirty Greeks invested in a Pyrgos, defended it for three days against his army, and twenty-three of them got out safely by night, when the enemy, after storming and cannonading in vain, had prepared a mine to blow up the tower. The Moreotes had learnt to avoid battles in the open field with him, but Nikitas, Kolliopoulos, and John Colocotroni, continually hung on his flanks and rear, killing every one of his soldiers who straggled or lagged behind. While the Pasha roamed up and down the country, bands of from 50 to 300 insurgents hovered about Patrass, Tripolizza, and Navarin, intercepting all communication, and daily gleaning in skirmishes some Mohammedan heads. In a report addressed to government by the chiefs of the Messenian guerillas, and dated August the 29th, they recapitulated the slaughter of 509 Turks and Arabs in different ambuscades and rencontres.

Tired of fruitless marching and countermarching, Ibrahim looked with impatience for the return of the Egyptian fleet, with reinforcements and supplies that might repair his losses, and enable him to attack Hydra and Napoli. But Mohammed Ali was too wary a politician to allow his armament to sail until he had ascertained the denouement of the conferences of Akerman, and could judge how the Sultan's reforms were likely to terminate; since if either Russia or the Janissaries uprooted the throne of Osman, his reign in Egypt was secure, and his establishment in Greece rendered impossible. He had good reason to pause before he compromised himself farther in a war, which was draining his treasures and the blood of his subjects. Of 24,000 Arabs shipped off from Alexandria within two years, scarcely 8000 remained alive in the Morea, and 1500 of these were in the hospitals: Ibrahim's magazines were exhausted, his military chest empty, and as, in consequence of the bills he drew upon

Trieste having been protested, his correspondents in the Ionian Islands ceased to speculate in provisions, the distress of the Mussulmans rose to such a pitch that a biscuit was sold for its weight in silver. Defrauded for twenty months of their pay and new clothing, naked and barefooted, in a climate which seemed to them rigorous, his Africans, notwithstanding their abject nature, became unruly, and quarrels betwixt them and the Lalliote Albanians obliged the Pasha to send the latter by sea to Patrass: in a few weeks he must have bid farewell to Peloponnesus, or been content to stay there without troops. From this dilemma he was relieved by the arrival of the Alexandrian fleet, which the Viceroy despatched as soon as he thought things at Constantinople wore a settled aspect. Thirty-one ships of war and forty transports, anchoring in Navarin on the 1st and 2d of December, put on shore copious supplies of every kind, and eight millions of francs in specie, but no soldiers.

The season of action being then past, Ibrahim did not stir from his cantonments until the month of April: there was no chance of the Moreotes seriously disturbing his repose, as they were fully employed with their private squabbles, no less than seven distinct civil wars going on in the Peninsula.

SECTION IV.

BETWEEN the 6th and 12th days of July, the Ottoman navy came out of the Dardanelles in two divisions, to each of which were attached two line-of-battle ships, and a number of heavy frigates. While the Capitana Bey's squadron went straight to Navarin, that commanded by the Capitan Pasha coasted along Asia Minor towards Samos. Apprized that the Porte had

resumed its intention of reducing them, and was assembling land forces in Anatolia, the Samians implored maritime assistance, promising to disburse part of the expense. Sakhtouri sailing from Hydra, on the 23d, with thirty-three armed vessels and eight fire-ships, on the 26th reached Samos. Next day he fell in with nine Turkish ships off the Corycian promontory, cannonaded them at a distance for three hours, and burned two brulots ineffectually. On the 28th, the whole enemy's fleet, composed of two two-deckers, twenty-seven frigates and corvettes, and seven brigs, bearing down before the wind, from the direction of Scio, endeavoured to cut off some of the Greeks, but a land breeze springing up, the latter formed their line, and offered battle. Neither party felt inclined to come to close quarters, if we except Canaris, who alone obeyed a signal for the bruloteers to advance, and pushed into the thickest of the enemy, receiving the whole of their fire.

He had almost grappled a frigate, when two shots striking him between wind and water, his vessel began to sink, and at the same time two large launches full of men rowing towards him, he lighted the train, and took to his long-boat. One of the Turkish launches was destroyed by the brulot's explosion, but the other overtaking him, a desperate fight ensued, hand to hand: Canaris was wounded in the head and left arm, and three of his companions lost their lives, but he repulsed the infidels, got on board a Greek vessel, and as soon as his hurts were cured at Egina, returned to the scene of hostilities in a new fire-ship. After this encounter, the Capitan Pasha put back to Mitylene, and lay there for a month. On the 30th of August, thirty-seven Turkish men-of-war ran down the coast of Ionia, but perceiving the Greeks cruising about Psarra and Icaria, retired to Scio. Miaulis arriving from Hydra with

twenty sail (September the 4th), took the command of the insurgents, and with his customary determination presented himself on the 9th before the harbour of Mitylene, where the Ottomans were anchored under the castle. Twenty-four of their ships, (including the two-deckers), weighed, but bad weather prevented an engagement until the evening of the 10th, when they attacked the Christians, and brought on a naval action more warmly disputed than had yet been the case: it was renewed at intervals during the night, and lasted the whole day of the 11th. Victory was undecided, but all the honour belonged to the Greeks, whose smallest brigs and schooners, especially the Psarrians, faced the enemy's line-of-battle ships and frigates, with a degree of audacity that astonished Admiral de Rigny, who, as well as the French ambassador, General Guilleminot, was a spectator of the combat. The islanders had 100 men killed and wounded, one fire-ship sunk, two burned, and several other vessels much injured; the Moslems also sustained considerable damage, and sheered off into the Gulf of Smyrna. If Khosref Pasha had been present, his timidity would probably have led to a total defeat, but he was gone in the frigate bearing his flag to refit at Phocea, and Tahir Pasha, who commanded in his stead, showed no want of personal courage. Henceforth, the Turks, confining themselves to the waters of Mitylene and Tenedos, grew so exceeding cautious, that on the 7th of October their fleet, reinforced to forty sail, declined a meeting with fourteen Greek vessels. In the middle of November, the Capitan Pasha, repassing the Hellespontine castles, concluded his most inglorious campaign, and on the 27th he laid up his ships for the winter at the arsenal of Constantinople. The insurgents then steered homewards, proud of having baffled the Sultan's navy, and a third time saved Samos. Meanwhile the Capitana

Bey's division remained motionless in the port of Navarin, busied solely in defensive precautions against any sudden enterprise of Cochrane, (whose name was a bugbear to the Turks,) and suffering from the plague. On the 21st of October two of their frigates, and twelve corvettes and brigs, failed in an attempt to destroy a Spezziote cruiser and six Mainatt scampavias, which took refuge in the creeks of Armyros and Khytries, and soon afterwards the Capitana Bey sailed back to the Dardanelles, leaving with Ibrahim some ships under his rear-admiral, the Reala Bey. A party of twenty-seven Greek mariners, headed by a Psarrian, performed a very dashing exploit in the Gulf of Corinth: having dragged a fishing-boat across the Isthmus, and launched her at Loutraki, they first endeavoured, in concert with 200 of Griziotti's soldiers, to surprise seven transports of the enemy anchored at Dobrena, but were beaten off by the Turks. The twenty-seven adventurers then proceeded to Scala of Salona, where, on the night of September the 29th, they, with a loss of two killed and seven wounded, boarded and carried a fine new Ottoman schooner, mounting ten brass six-pounders. Ibrahim was so much incensed, that he despatched a squadron, with express orders either to retake or sink her; but the skill of his sea-officers was inadequate to the execution of his commands; and the schooner, after cruising in the gulf for five months, slipped through the Strait of Lepanto in a dark night, and safely reached Egina.

Neither were the Pasha's instructions better obeyed for enforcing a strict blockade of the Corinthian Gulf, in order to distress the Peloponnesians by hindering the sale of their currants: that measure was eluded through the cupidity of Delhi Ahmed, governor of Patrass, who, for a certain consideration, permitted neutrals to pass.

Towards the end of summer, the appearance of the steam-vessel Perseverance convinced the insurgents that the account of armaments, so often and so pompously announced from London, was not, as many deemed it, an absolute fiction. Compelled by the defective state of his engine to go into Cagliari, Captain Hastings spent six weeks there, harassed and impeded by the dotards administering the Sardinian government: having at length completed the necessary repairs, he continued his voyage, touched at Cerigotto for information, and, on the 14th of September, steamed up the Argolic Gulf. Midnight was past, and the population of Nauplia locked in sleep, when the noise of his paddle-wheels, and the sight of a vessel advancing without sails, attracted the notice of the guards upon the wall, and in an instant the news spreading through the town, the citizens of every rank and sex rushed with shouts of joy to the ramparts next the sea.* In the morning, Hastings waited upon the Executive, and on its ratifying a deed of sale, the corvette changing her name to the Karteria, hoisted the Greek flag, and he was appointed to command her, receiving his commission as captain of a frigate. However anxious he was to distinguish himself, he had many difficulties to surmount, ere he could come in contact with the foe: most of his English crew leaving him, he was obliged to enlist Greek sailors and marines, who required training, collect coals and stores, make fresh experiments on the machine, and silence the

* It was long before the curiosity and wonder of the Greeks could be satiated, and they circulated the most ridiculous reports of the power of the vessel. A few days after she arrived, a peasant from Nauplia being examined regarding her, in one of the Peloponnesian camps, unblushingly affirmed with an oath to his credulous auditors, that he had seen the ship get up her steam, and fly to the top of the Palamede.

pretensions of the Hydriotes, who would fain have interfered with his command.

Just as the naval campaign terminated, Kontostavlos sailed from New York in the American frigate purchased at so dear a rate, and making his passage in fifty-five days, consigned her (December the 8th) to the government at Egina. She was one of the finest ships in the world, carrying sixty-four guns (long thirty-two pounders on the main, and forty-two lb. carronades on the upper deck), and was filled with flour, ammunition, medicines, and marine stores for eighteen months' consumption. The Greeks contemplated her with delight, but upon the departure of the American officers and seamen who navigated her out, they discovered that she would be more embarrassing than useful to them. To manage vessels of such a size was beyond their capacity, and the mutual jealousy of the islanders suggested to government the absurd notion of putting the frigate into commission; Hydra, Spezzia, and the Psarrian community being desired to send quotas of men. This plan was soon found to be impracticable, repeated fights occurred on board, and the ship was finally given up to Miaulis, with a Hydriote crew of his own selection. She had not lain a month at Egina, until she was twice in danger of being wrecked, and at Poros she actually drifted ashore, luckily however on soft mud!

Among the evils springing out of the calamities of Greece, the growth of piracy during this summer was the most grievous. Since the British government acknowledged the validity of insurgent blockades, hitherto English and French commerce had few aggressions to complain of, but it was not so with the Austrians, who would not recognise any belligerent rights in the Greek marine, and pretended that the Emperor's flag ought

to cover his merchant vessels, even when freighted as transports by the Turks. As their men-of-war used force to obtain the restitution of several lawful prizes, the islanders treated them without ceremony, overhauling every Austrian trader they fell in with; hence a perpetual angry correspondence, and occasional acts of hostility in the course of the two last years. Admiral Paulucci coming down from the Adriatic in May 1826, with nearly the whole imperial fleet, augmented by armed merchantmen, the Greeks were afraid that the court of Vienna intended to assist its worthy allies the Turks, more effectually than by good wishes and paragraphs in the Austrian Observer. But whether Paulucci was restricted by his instructions, or whether a hint from the English admiral checked him, his cruise in the Archipelago did not shield his master's subjects from spoliation, and his own unstable capricious character rendered him odious. After giving a grand entertainment to the Executive body at Nauplia, he conducted himself like a bully in the Egean sea, bombarded Naxos on very slight grounds, and supposing, or affecting to suppose, a design on the part of Sakhtouri, whom he met off Tinos, to insult his flag, fired upon one of the brigs of the Hydriote squadron. A party of marines that he landed at night on Thermia, was attacked and driven away by the inhabitants, and at Andros, a pirate bark surprised and took an Austrian schooner of war. The tenderness shown towards them by the English naval officers emboldening the islanders, while poverty drove to desperation thousands of seamen, whom the cessation of the loans had thrown out of employment, freebooters multiplied, and in spite of the exertions of the European squadrons, and the comminatory decrees of the Greek government, it became extremely dangerous for an unarmed vessel to traverse

the Archipelago without convoy. In September, the Spezziote commodore and five of his captains separated from the fleet of Miaulis, and going upon an independent cruise in the Karamanian Sea, captured several neutrals; insomuch that Captain Hamilton was under the disagreeable necessity of sending ships to chase and detain them.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK VI.—CHAP. II.

Resolution of the third Greek National Congress assembled at Piada, addressed to Mr Stratford Canning.

His Excellency the ambassador of his British Majesty at Constantinople, is requested to negotiate a peace between the Ottoman Porte and the Greeks, on the terms mentioned in this present act.

Article I. That no Turk shall be permitted to inhabit, or hold property in the territory of Greece, on account of its being impossible for the two nations to live together.

II. That all the fortresses which the Turks possess in Greece shall be evacuated, and restored to the Greeks.

III. That the Sultan shall have no authority over the internal administration, or the clergy.

IV. That Greece shall be allowed to keep up a sufficient force for her domestic security, and a navy to protect her trade.

V. That the same privileges and rights shall be extended to the Peloponnesus, the continent of Greece, Crete, the Archipelago; in short, to all the provinces which have taken up arms, and been incorporated with the Greek government.

VI. That neither the ambassador, nor the commission named by the National Assembly to correspond with his Excellency, shall have the faculty of altering any of the articles herein enumerated.

VII. That the Greeks shall have a flag of their own.

VIII. That they be entitled to coin money.

IX. That the amount of their tribute be fixed, and made payable either annually, or at one time.

X. That a truce be concluded; and that if the Porte refuses to adhere to the above conditions, the commission may address itself for aid and protection to all the powers of Europe, or to any one in particular, as it shall judge best for the interests of Greece.

Done at Epidaurus, April the $\frac{16}{28}$, 1826.

CHAP. III.

Campaign in Northern Greece, and progress of the Siege of Athens, up to the end of the year 1826.

SECTION I.

THE capture of Messalonghi having blotted Western Hellas out of the map of military operations, Reshid Pasha, regardless of twelve months' fatigue and danger spent in his bivouac, proceeded with admirable celerity to complete the subjugation of Roumelia, by investing the last fortress which the insurgents possessed to the north of the isthmus, To raise an army (not numerous, but effective), provide for the maintenance of his conquests, and establish his future communications on a sure basis, was with him the affair of a month: in June he took the field, dislodged the Greeks from their positions about Salona, and occupied that town. His talents seemed as apt for negotiation as war; for while all Ibrahim's threats and promises made no impression on the Peloponnesians, Kutahi, by his steady and liberal method of treating, brought over half the Armatolic captains. Tzongas, Makrys, and Skalza Dimos remained faithful to their country, but Rhangos, Sifaka, Dyovouniotis, Kontoyani, and Andreas Iskos, considering the loss of Messalonghi to be a decisive blow to the Greek cause, capitulated, and were taken into the Ottoman service on their old footing, receiving pay in advance, and undertaking to guard the roads and passes. However, as a check upon their inconstancy, the Serasker quartered 3000 of his troops in the neighbourhood of

Salona; then marching to Thebes, he encamped there on the 10th of July.

Omer Pasha of Negropont had already opened the campaign at the head of 1000 Eubœan Turks, who by the roads of Kalamos and Anaforiti penetrated into the heart of Attica. On the night of the 21st of June, 300 light horse pushed to the Piræus, skirted the walls of Athens, burned the standing crops of wheat and barley, carried off a quantity of cattle, and rejoined their Pasha at Kapandriti. Vasso and Grizioti exerted themselves in repressing the enemy's ravages, but after some skirmishes, the approach of Kutahi's vanguard obliged them to retire to Eleusis. Desirous to drive them from thence, the Roumeli Valesi detached a column of cavalry and infantry under Arslan Bey, whom they routed (July the 24th) in the Thriasian plain, taking his tents and baggage.

In its letters appointing Ghouras generalissimo of Eastern Greece, the government exhorted him to keep the Turks at a distance from Athens, and Fabvier offered to fortify the Piræus, and act in concert with him; but Ghouras was too jealous to suffer the regulars near him, and too avaricious to put himself at the head of the militia, lest the captains should apply to him for a part of their pay.

Abandoning his province to the enemy, he shut himself up in the Acropolis with 400 mercenaries, and, under the pretence of filling its magazines, tormented the people with arbitrary requisitions. When he first threw off the authority of Odysseus, he cajoled the inhabitants of Attica, but latterly there was no sort of violence he did not indulge in to gratify his ruling passion for hoarding money, and to please the ruffians who composed his body guard. Sure of impunity, his mercenaries committed such excesses, that the villagers sent deputies to Omer Pasha, tendering their submission,

which the Turks joyfully accepted. The Roumeli Valesi loaded them with favours, allowed them to cultivate the public lands rent free, and formed them into a corps of Marechaussè, charged to arrest all marauders and stragglers from his camp. They served him with good-will, and in the sequel he sensibly felt the advantage of having converted Attica from a hostile into a friendly country.

Although equally disgusted with Ghouras, the town's-people were, from the difference of their social position, neither so accessible to Mohammedan seduction, nor disposed to show their resentment in the same way; on the contrary, they displayed at this crisis a great deal of true courage and patriotism. Formerly, whenever Athens was menaced, they were wont to hurry to Salamis, but now only a portion of the citizens departed, the rest choosing to stay by their hearths and altars, and many not even removing their families. One of the last measures of Ghouras, previous to the siege, was to despatch the most nefarious of his satellites (named Mandolo), with an armed force to Salamis, there to squeeze out of the refugees, within twenty-four hours, a contribution of 50,000 piastres.

On the 11th of July, Kutahi's vanguard of 1000 horse and 2000 infantry, under Mousta Bey, joined at Kapandriti the troops of Omar Pasha, and on the 12th and 14th, parties of their cavalry reconnoitred Athens. They marched on the 15th, accompanied by 500 loaded beasts, and encamped around the monastery of Petraki, occupying the gardens and villages of Patissia and Sepolia: next night, 150 Greek volunteers from Salamis got into the place through a sallyport; and the garrison of the town then amounted to 800 men, commanded by Makriyani, Stathi Kazzikoyani, Evmorphopoulos, and two Athenian Primates. They received rations from the Acropolis, which Ghouras

had stored with grain for eighteen months' consumption. His reluctance to admit them into the citadel, as well as a desire to preserve their houses, induced the citizens to undertake the difficult task of defending the town walls, which were in a state of decay, and far too extensive for their numbers: of the twenty-four towers that stood erect, some were furnished with a single gun; and the castle contained seventeen pieces of ordnance, including one brass and two iron mortars. Kutahi's army was stated at 10,000 horse and foot; and perhaps he may have had so many under his orders, but they were not all assembled, for, besides detachments left in the interior, he very judiciously constructed fieldworks at Thebes, Oropos, and Dobrena, and by placing garrisons in them, insured his communication with Eubœa and the Corinthian Gulf, whence he was to draw his supplies: he in short forgot nothing, and omitted nothing that was essential to his success. His train of artillery consisted of twenty cannon, four large mortars, and two howitzers; among his battering guns were forty-eight and forty-two pounders, and his fieldpieces were harnessed, equipped, and manœuvred in a way that would have done no discredit to Europeans. On the morning of the 16th began the usual series of skirmishes, conferences, and the exchange of letters and messages, between the Greek and Albanian captains; the fortress occasionally fired round shot, which the enemy could not answer, not having yet brought up their guns: however, at nightfall of the 23d, their horse, supported by infantry, attacked and carried the hill of Philopappus, whose summit they immediately intrenched. On the 26th, seventy Athenians came from Salamis, headed by the miner Costa, who rendered himself famous at Messalonghi, and notwithstanding his want of education, had by long practice acquired considerable proficiency in his art. Next

day the Turks unmasked their first battery, at the distance of half a mile from the walls, and in the evening commenced an ill-directed fire, from one howitzer, against the two western towers; during the ensuing night they prepared a second battery, and mounted three more guns. On the 28th, Reshid Pasha, arriving from Thebes with an escort of cavalry, established his head-quarters at Patissia, to the north-west of Athens; the cannonade then became hotter, and produced an evident impression on the crumbling rampart. The enemy enlarged their two former batteries, erected a third for mortars, and bombarded the Acropolis. Up to the end of the month, they had thrown 526 projectiles, while from the 17th to the night of the 31st, the besieged discharged twenty-five bombs, and 224 cannon balls; the musketry was hardly ever silent.* Outside of the town were several chapels and old ruins, which the Greeks used as advanced works, and defended with so much intelligence and bravery, that it cost Kutahi both trouble and bloodshed to dislodge them.

On the 12th of August the Turks surprised, near the Piræus, a party of Vasso's soldiers sent to reconnoitre, killed one, and took six prisoners, from whom they learned that the insurgents at Salamis and Eleusis were preparing to raise the siege. The Roumeli Valesi, upon this information, deemed it high time to make himself master of the town, ere he was enclosed betwixt it and the Christian army; and therefore, at daybreak on the 14th, redoubled the fire of his batteries, and kept it up, without intermission, for twenty-four hours, during which he threw a thousand round

* It is recorded that a worthy member of the church militant (Gabriel, Abbot of Vrana), pointed and fired with his own hands a gun which killed two Ottoman horsemen.

shot, beating down the rampart faster than the besieged could repair it. Next morning, having distributed arrack to his troops, he ordered a general assault, which succeeded. The Athenians, too weak to guard effectually so great a circuit, retired into the quarter called Arvanitika, (under the musketry of the castle,) with a loss of thirty killed, ten men and forty women taken, and a considerable number wounded and carried to the citadel.

On the 16th, they sallied against the Turks, who were still busy in plundering the houses, slew ten of them, and made five prisoners; one of these last, an officer of artillery, offered his services in that capacity to Ghouras, and was actually intrusted with the direction of a battery. On the night of the 17th, the blaze of many fires at the foot of Mount Parnes, and the enemy's hasty movements, flattered the garrison with a prospect of relief. The Executive Council having confided to Karaiskaki the command of all the forces beyond the Isthmus, that active chief left Nauplia (July the 31st) with six hundred men, and proceeding to Eleusis to put himself at the head of the corps of Vasso, Griziotti, and Panourias, awaited the junction of the Stavrophores from Hydra, and Fabvier's regulars, who, being now reorganized, presented an effective strength of 1300 men, formed into three battalions, two squadrons, and two companies of artillery, with the addition of a company of Philhellenes recently arrived from France. The colonel was much indebted to Count Eugene d'Harcourt, who, during a summer's tour through Greece, as agent of the Paris committee, established a permanent fund for the pay and subsistence of the European volunteers. As soon as Fabvier obtained the consent of government to bear a part in this expedition, he transported to Salamis his first and second battalions, (700 strong,) seventy gunners, seven-

ty Philhellenes, led by Colonel Pisa, (an old and distinguished officer,) and eighty dismounted troopers; in all 920 men, with four three-pounders; his mounted cavalry was detached in the Morea with Colocotroni, a circumstance he had but too much reason to regret. The army, when united, amounted to 3500 combatants, and Fabvier and Karaiskaki, who met for the first time at Salamis, seemed pleased with each other, and disposed to act cordially together. Marching from Eleusis on the evening of the 17th, they took post, about midnight, at the small village of Khaidari, a league and a half to the north-west of Athens. Their approach caused great alarm among the Turks, and if it had occurred a few days earlier, might have induced them to raise the siege; but Reshid Pasha, being now in possession of the town, and therefore comparatively at ease, shewed a bold front, and instantly despatched a body of cavalry, with two fieldpieces, to keep them in check. At sunrise of the 18th, a mutual cannonade was followed by an action along the whole line; the enemy was repulsed, and the Greeks advanced across a ravine, the regulars in the centre firing by platoons, while the Pallikars were dispersed as tirailleurs on both flanks. As one of the enemy's cannon, placed on an eminence, annoyed the insurgents, Fabvier ordered a charge, and the company of Philhellenes carried the height with fixed bayonets; the Turks saved their gun by hastily loading it on the back of a camel, but abandoned their ammunition, and retreated for a league into the olive wood. The Christians took two standards, and lost seven killed and twenty-one wounded, five of whom were Philhellenes. Fabvier proposed to march upon Athens, but the Greek captains objected to so decisive a measure, and not knowing very well what to do, resolved to halt where they were, although Khaidari, lying in a hollow, is by no means a good position;

it had, however, the advantages of a large walled garden, and a fine spring of water. The irregulars laboured hard at constructing tambourias, but the regular soldiers, too lazy to work, would not intrench the height they had seized, allowing the enemy to reoccupy it, and again plant guns there. On the 19th, the Serasker did not move, because he expected Omer Pasha, whose assistance he had invoked, and who, in the afternoon, joined him with a reinforcement of excellent horse. Next morning, Reshid, leaving a sufficient force to restrain the garrison of Athens, attacked the Greeks, who awaited the shock in their position; Fabvier's troops forming the right, and Karaiskaki's the left wing; the engagement was well fought, and lasted the whole day. At its commencement, a body of Ottoman Delhys, charging the first battalion, drawn up in a square before the garden, was stopped by a volley of musketry; when, just as the Moslems were wheeling round, a Greek officer, commanding the light company, quitted the ranks, and this example of cowardice producing a panic, Fabvier, who brought up the second battalion to its support, was obliged to retire into the garden, where a swarm of Albanian sharpshooters pressed him hard. The fire of his artillery was silenced, owing to the same mischance that happened at Karysto, (the axles breaking,) and the Turks galling him severely with five-inch shells, from two elongated howitzers, drove him out of the garden. On the other wing, they repeatedly assailed the Roumeliotes, their cavalry passing in full career betwixt the tambourias, but were always repulsed, and many men and horses fell. Towards night, when the heat of the action had abated, Karaiskaki sent a message to Fabvier, suggesting the propriety of attacking the enemy after dark; the colonel assented, and ordered a party to re-enter the garden, where his battalions had deposited their cloaks and

knapsacks. The Turks, who were found to be in possession of it, routed the detachment, and this incident renewing the panic of the morning, the whole corps gave way. Neither did Karaiskaki execute his plan, if indeed (which is very doubtful) he ever intended it; the Greeks had been roughly handled, and the opportunity of slinking away in the dark was so tempting, that regulars and irregulars fled to Eleusis, leaving behind their baggage, and two pieces of cannon. As far as we have been able to ascertain the loss, it was pretty equal on both sides, each party having about 300 men put hors-de-combat; three of Fabvier's officers were slain, two taken, and with twenty-six other prisoners beheaded by order of Kutahi,* and several wounded, among whom was the chef-de-bataillon Robert.

A curious occurrence diversified on the 21st these scenes of carnage. Admiral de Rigny lay at anchor in the strait of Salamis, and the Mohammedan and Christian chiefs went, at the same instant, to pay their respects to him: Fabvier, who was the first to visit the frigate, kept himself out of sight, at the admiral's request, when Reshid and Omer Pashas came on board; but scarcely were they seated in the cabin, when Karaiskaki walked into it. M. de Rigny was a good deal disconcerted, much more so than either the Turkish Serasker or the Greek Stratigos, who carried on a lively and amusing colloquy through the interpretation of an Albanian Bey. The French circulated a report, that Karaiskaki kissed the Pasha's hand, which, however, the former indignantly contradicted. Where command is divided, defeat commonly gives rise to complaint and

* One of these was an Italian, the other a Greek sub-lieutenant of artillery named Ivos, a very fine young man. The Serasker made him great offers, if he would change his religion, but he crossed himself, and expressed horror at the proposal.

recrimination, and such was the consequence of the battle of Khaidari. After Karaiskaki and Fabvier had withdrawn into Salamis, the first to Kolouri, the second to Ambelaki, they criticised each other's conduct with acrimony, and their followers warmly took up the dispute. The Europeans asserted that their discomfiture was owing to the indocility of the Greek captains, and the Roumeliotes proudly answered, that they had successfully repelled the enemy's assaults, while the regulars were constantly beaten. As intriguing parasites were ready to fan the quarrel, there appeared a likelihood of their coming to blows, and although the sound sense and feeling of the Bulgarian Steffo averted mortal strife, any future co-operation became impossible.

Karaiskaki being informed that the Turks had a large depot at Skourta, (on the confines of Bœotia and Megaris,) whence their camp was supplied, detached 1000 picked men under George Kheliotis, who surprised the enemy (September the 4th), and brought to Eleusis 10,000 head of cattle, and 200 mules.

During the three days that the insurgents occupied Khaidari, Reshid Pasha did not entirely discontinue his bombardment of the Acropolis; but as he was forced to concentrate most of his troops, the besieged availed themselves of the blockade being relaxed, to get rid of a number of women, and useless mouths, whose presence in the fort was inconvenient; they stole out at night, and safely arrived at Salamis.

The besiegers had finished a battery for guns and mortars upon the Museum, and, protected by its fire, stormed the church of St George, below the south-east corner of the citadel, on the evening of the 27th; whereupon the Greeks, who had previously mined the building, blew it, and all who were in or near it, to pieces. In the course of August, Kutahi's artillery discharged against the town and castle 2120 cannon-balls,

and 956 bomb and howitzer shells; the garrison returned 76 bombs, and 854 round shot. The fortress, on account of its natural strength, has little to dread from an assault, and therefore the Ottoman general trusted for reducing it to the ravage his cannonade and bombardment were sure to cause in so narrow a space, and to depriving the besieged of water; he plied them with a cross fire of shot and shells, and endeavoured to undermine the works of the Serpendjè, and the high tower facing the Areopagus, and built by Odysseus above the fountain he had discovered. Makriyani vigilantly guarded the Serpendjè, and his soldiers, overlooking the enemy's approaches, picked off the Moslems with their small arms. From the 1st to the 25th of September, the besiegers threw 2015 projectiles, the garrison 521. The Turks having dug a deep trench, extending from the flank of the Areopagus to a point opposite to the centre of the southern wall of the Serpendjè, and run several mines under the theatre of Herodes Atticus, Makriyani, on the night of the 25th, interrupted their progress by a sortie, drove them from the ditch, filled it up, and ruined three of their galleries of communication. Twenty of the enemy's pioneers were taken, their head miner slain, and the Greeks bore away 500 wicker baskets for carrying earth. Since the commencement of the siege, up to this period, sixty-three Athenian citizens had fallen, exclusive of the mercenaries of Ghouras, and the non-combatants, but only one man was dead of sickness. In the five last days of the month, the Ottoman batteries fired 318 shot, and 200 bombs, killing four soldiers of the garrison, and wounding one; the castle replied with 192 cannon-balls, and nineteen bombs.

On the night of the 29th, the besiegers were repulsed in an assault upon an advanced work covering the source of water. They regained possession (October

the 1st) of the ground they had lost on the 25th; before abandoning it, however, Costa charged one of the mines, and passed a spout into it from a well of his own; then, perceiving them to be busy after midnight in clearing out the trench, he applied a match to the train, and scorched or buried the workmen and their guard. The Greeks instantly sallied, and had not the desertion of five mercenaries caused confusion in their ranks, would have taken the nearest batteries. From this date, the cannonade and bombardment rather slackened until the 12th, when the Turks threw 190 shot and shells, killing and wounding eight men within the fort.

The next night was the last of the life of Ghouras: as he was going his rounds, according to custom, one of his attendants snapped a musket, and two shots being fired from the trenches in the direction of the flash, a ball struck him in the head, and he expired without a groan.

Finding himself short of provisions and fodder, and his troops murmuring at the length of the siege, Kutahi resolved to storm the Serpendjè, all his attempts at mining having failed, through Costa's superior skill in countermining him. On the night of the 18th, a body of Albanians, by a sudden onset, forced their way in, and seized the mouth of a mine, while Costa was employed in stuffing its chamber; but Makriyani rallying the Athenians, expelled them after an obstinate struggle. A part of the assailants maintained themselves in the vaults of the theatre till the evening of the 19th, when the Greeks, throwing in hand-grenades and burning beams, dislodged and destroyed most of them. Among the slain was their leader, Moukhtar Bey, to whom Reshid had promised the government of Athens. During these twenty-four hours of combat, the hostile batteries showered upon the fortress 500

bombs, and as many cannon balls: the Christians suffered severely, Makriyani lost ten of his officers, and received several dangerous wounds, one of which fractured his skull. Costa sprung his mine on the following day with good effect.

As the numbers of the garrison (especially the Athenians) were diminished by daily casualties, Ghouras just before his death had earnestly requested a reinforcement, and addressed letters to a corps of Ionians, recently embodied at the expense and under the auspices of a Septinsular committee, inviting them to enter the castle, where he assured them they should want for nothing. The Ionians, on their side, wishing to join their countryman, Evmorphopoulos, acceded to his offers, provided Karaiskaki would cover their movement. Crossing from Salamis into Attica, (September the 24th,) a nocturnal march of seven hours brought them near Athens; but the moon rising, and a party of Megarian auxiliaries refusing to accompany them farther, they deferred the enterprise till the ensuing night, and went to pass the intermediate day at the monastery of Kariæ, a league from the town. The heavy fire which Kutahi kept up on the 25th, making them suspect that he was aware of their approach, they, instead of going forwards, retraced their steps to Salamis. After their previous boasting, this retreat did not reflect honour upon them, and they determined to efface the stain by a more resolute effort. The officers at Eleusis engaged with money 120 Roumeliotes to share the peril, and Griziotti undertook to protect their disembarkation. Sailing from Ambelaki in a Psarrian brig, on the night of the 9th of October, 250 men (headed by Maimouri, cousin to Ghouras, and an Ionian named Pophantis) landed beyond Munychia, and advanced to within a mile of the citadel, when they encountered a squadron of Ottoman cavalry. As they

lay down by the road-side the horsemen did not notice them, until their attention was attracted to the noise made by the Greeks in flying, some towards the sea, others to Hymettus. When day broke, the enemy attacked those, who, standing on the beach, were recalling the brig by signals. Nevertheless, most of them reimbarked, a few escaped along the ridge of Hymettus, and about twenty defended themselves on a reef, and were taken off in boats by Griziotti after it became dark: on reassembling in Salamis not more than thirty were missing.

The Athenians who, from the Acropolis, had the mortification of witnessing this abortive attempt, reiterated their demand for succours, and their relations at Egina complained to government that the army of Eastern Greece was condemned to inaction by the senseless bickerings of its commanders. Sensible to their well-founded reproaches, and tired of being so long idle, Fabvier summoned Karaiskaki and his captains to meet him in a council of war, and fix upon a plan of operations. Their forces were nearly equal to those of the Serasker, the colonel having been rejoined by his cavalry, and Karaiskaki by the Souliotes, and several detachments from the Morea. The fruit of their deliberations was a project to act offensively in three columns: that on the left, commanded by Fabvier, and composed of the regulars and 500 Pallikars of Steffo, and Demetrius Kalerji, being destined to surprise Thebes, while to the right Griziotti should penetrate into the Acropolis, and Karaiskaki, in the centre, alarm the enemy by a false attack from Eleusis. Fabvier, marching from Megara on the afternoon of the 21st, traversed the defiles of Cythæron, and ordered his irregulars to guard them; his advanced picquet of cavalry was already on the bank of the Asopus, beyond Platæa, when Steffo and Kalerji rode up to him with in-

telligence that their soldiers had left the posts where he instructed them to remain. This circumstance compelling the colonel to renounce his design, and return to Megara, probably saved his corps from destruction, for the Turks at Thebes were too numerous and too well fortified to yield to a coup-de-main, and hardly had he repassed Cythæron, when a strong detachment came from the Serasker's camp to occupy the straits; if it had arrived half an hour sooner, Fabvier's retreat would have been cut off.

Favoured by his demonstration, and that of Karaiskaki, who advanced towards Khaidari, Griziotti, Maimouri, and Leckas, going on board the Psarrian brig stationed at Ambelaki, landed on the night of the 23d, near the mouth of the Ilyssus, with 450 Roumeliotes and Ionians, and silently proceeded to the foot of the hill of Philopappus; the Ottoman sentries then challenged and fired, but ere their troops could rouse themselves from sleep, and discharge two volleys, Griziotti and his companions got into the Acropolis, as much to the joy of the garrison, as Kutahi's vexation.

The present safety of Athens being thus apparently secured, Karaiskaki deemed it useless to remain longer in Attica, and thought he might employ his time better in marching into the interior, cutting up in detail the Turkish detachments, and calling into insurrection the Armatoles who had submitted. He intimated his scheme to Fabvier, inviting him to share in its execution; but the colonel, exasperated at the behaviour of the irregulars, and firmly believing that Karaiskaki himself had transmitted to the enemy information of his march upon Thebes, would have nothing more to do with him, and returned along the coast of the Saronic Gulf to his cantonments at Methana.

After Griziotti's entrance, and a vigorous sally of the besieged, (November the 5th,) Reshid Pasha, des-

pairing of being able to take the Serpendjè, pointed his attacks against the tower of Odysseus, and sunk a large mine, with the double purpose of overturning it, and spoiling the spring of water. Having carried it within sixty fathoms of the foot of the tower, his engineers charged the chamber with 5000 pounds of powder, and sprung it on the 22d, but Costa had countermined, and evented their globe of compression, which recoiled on themselves.

They fell to work again, near the same place, at a fresh mine which they never finished: for Costa met them with another, charged it with 300 lbs. of powder, and exploding it on the evening of December the 6th, burst their gallery. The Serasker then gave up all idea of an active siege, resigning himself to the prospect of a tedious blockade. Recollecting his pertinacity at Messalonghi, the besieged remarked with uneasiness symptoms of his intention to winter before Athens, which augured an indefinite prolongation of their irksome confinement. There were in the fort 1000 fighting men, with wheat and barley for a year's consumption, but short of ammunition, flints, and fuel, and very ill provided with clothing for the rigorous season that was at hand. Dissatisfied that the troops outside had done so little for their relief, and supposing that written representations would be of no avail, the chiefs of the garrison judged it advisable to depute an officer invested with full powers to state their wants to government, and if he saw no chance of the siege being raised, to obtain for them an honourable capitulation, under Captain Hamilton's guarantee. Makriyani, whose wounds were partially healed, did not shrink from the hazardous emprise of breaking through the enemy's lines, and went out, (November the 29th,) followed by five horsemen. The foremost of the party, in endeavouring to cross the Turkish ditch, tumbled

in, but his companions quickly lifted up the fallen man and horse, and notwithstanding the fire of the batteries, and the pursuit of cavalry, they arrived unhurt at Eleusis, whence Makriyani hastened to Egina. The picture he drew of the state of the fortress deeply affecting the Executive, it applied to Fabvier, whose corps was the only one disposable, and he the only officer likely to obey its orders. Love of glory was so strong a passion in the colonel's breast, that difficulty and danger allured him at all times, and now he had additional reasons for listening to the request of government, and the prayers of the Athenians. While he lay in winter quarters, Greece was resounding with Karaiskaki's victory of Rakhova, and people began to institute comparisons not much to Fabvier's advantage; besides, his resources were nearly expended; a long tract of easterly winds hindered the return of an agent, whom he had despatched to Zante to procure money, and he foresaw that as soon as his coffers and store-houses were empty, the soldiers would abandon him. Their disbanding at that instant would have been peculiarly grating to his feelings, because, through the force of his own example, he had at length instilled into them a military spirit. This was proved, when he called them together, and frankly explained the perilous expedition he was meditating; both officers and men exclaiming with one voice, that they would march anywhere under his guidance.

As it was his special object to convey powder into the Acropolis, he caused a number of bags to be made, each capable of holding several okes; and after filling them, embarked at Methana in a Psarrian brig, (December the 10th,) and at the hour of midnight on the 13th, landed to the east of port Munychia, with 650 picked men. Boldness and prudence characterised his dispositions; forty Philhellenes formed the van, then

came a company of artillerymen, and close behind them two battalions of Greek infantry; all without distinction, from the colonel downwards, carried a bag of powder, and to prevent noise, he was careful to permit none to have flints in their muskets. Thus he commenced his march by the light of the moon, and advanced undiscovered to the brink of the enemy's circumvallation, near the roots of the Museum. A guard of Turks sleeping in the fossé was bayoneted by the Philhellenes, the drums beat a charge, and assisted by a sortie of Griziotti, the column entered the Serpendjè, under a shower of grape from the hostile battery on Philopappus. The Greeks lost six killed, and fourteen wounded, and the Colonels Fabvier and Pisa received slight contusions: the chef-de-bataillon Robert, a young and promising French officer, had his leg broken by a ball, and being left on the ground, two Mussulmans ran up in order to cut off his head; but although unable to rise, and hacked by their sabres, he defended himself with his small sword, until some of his comrades, turning back, bore him to the castle, where he died on the 18th.

SECTION II.

EVER since the surrender of Trikeri to the Turks, (in October 1823,) a considerable body of Olympian exiles was established in the islands of Skyros, Skiathos, and Scopelos, where they led a half-savage life, oppressing the natives, making excursions in boats round the Thermaic gulf, and committing frequent piracies. Coletti had persuaded their most eminent captain, Kara Tasso, to serve against the Antarts, and oppose Ibrahim in Peloponnesus, but after the secession of the Roumeliotes, he went again to Scopelos, in the autumn of 1825. With a view of supporting Karais-

kaki's projected movement in Eastern Greece, the government proposed to employ these Macedonians in occupying the straits of Thermopylæ, and appointed Coletti (the only person that had any influence over them) director of the expedition. He was accompanied by several Philhellenes, and among others, the Colonels Raybaud and Voutier, the latter of whom having just returned from France with a sum of money furnished by the banker Kalerji, recruited and armed with firelocks and bayonets a company of eighty men: Count d'Harcourt contributed 20,000 piastres out of the funds of the Paris committee for the hire of a Spezziote brig and schooner. The diversion might have been useful, if they had not lost so much time in preparation, that Kutahi, who was generally well served by his spies, got information beforehand, and detached Mousta Bey towards Talanta. There was such a difficulty in collecting the Olympians, that it was not until the 15th of November that Coletti sailed from Scopelos, with two vessels of war, a fleet of boats, and from 1000 to 1500 soldiers; and anchoring, on the 17th, at the Isle of Atalanta, waited three days for the junction of his scattered flotilla. Encouraged by a report, that the enemy had not above 150 men to defend their magazines in the town of Talanta, an old Macedonian chieftain, named Gazzos, landed during the night of the 20th, and pushing across the plain, at daybreak began an assault, when Mousta Bey suddenly debouched by the road of Livadia, fell with 500 horse and foot upon the left flank of the Greeks, routed, and compelled them to reimbark. Thirty-four Olympians were slain, and they would have suffered more, if one of Kara Tasso's sons had not covered the retreat, while the French captain Touret drew off the attention of the Arnauts by leading Voutier's company forward to the sound of drums. A fresh effort was

combined for the 23d, and some positions on the shore occupied ; but at daylight the Macedonians, perceiving that the two Spezziotes had unaccountably disappeared, hoisted sail, and steered their barks homewards, abandoning Touret in a convent by the sea-side, whence Voutier brought him away in a vessel, after a blockade of two days.

Coletti's expedition, though so unfortunate in its result, had, however, a happy effect upon Karaiskaki's operations. The latter had commenced his winter campaign, at the head of 3000 of the best soldiers in Greece, including the Souliotes, the remains of the garrison of Messalonghi, and the brave Nikitas, who gave a noble example of patriotism, by withdrawing himself from the intrigues of the Morea, to combat the infidels in Roumelia. Vasso was left with his own corps, and the Megarian militia, to guard the position of Eleusis, and the Isle of Salamis. Breaking up his camp, (November the 6th,) and marching by Kondoura and Kaza, Karaiskaki arrived on the 8th at Dobrena, shut up the Turks there in three towers, and sent about one-third of his force in different directions to raise the country. One of these detachments, led by a younger brother of Odysseus, was surprised in the village of Zagara, and its commander taken and decapitated. On the 23d, Hadji Mikhali joined with his troop of Bulgarian horse, and next day the insurgents had a smart encounter with the enemy's cavalry quartered at Thebes, in which a renowned Acarnanian captain, named Soultanis, was shot dead. Finding that he could not reduce Dobrena, Karaiskaki advanced to Dystomo, and on the 30th despatched 500 men, under Gardikiotis Grivas, and George Vaia, to occupy Arakhova, which is embosomed in the lower slope of Mount Parnassus, at a point where three valleys diverge : they had barely time to lodge themselves

in the houses, before a Mohammedân division approached with the same intention. This was the movable column ordered by Kutahi to protect his rear, and which had repulsed the Olympians at Talanta: it consisted of 1500 select Albanians, commanded by the Pashas Kihaya, Mousta Bey, Elmaz Bey, and Karanfil Bey, who not knowing that the Greeks were in possession of Arakhova, walked blindly into the trap laid for them. While they were consuming their strength in vain attempts to carry the village, Karaiskaki came up from Dystomo, and seizing the mouths of the three defiles, enclosed them completely. Thus placed between two fires, the Moslems held out for six days on the top of a stony hillock, enduring extreme distress, their adversaries having defeated, near Daulis, a party that endeavoured to relieve them, and captured eighty mules laden with biscuit and ammunition. They offered to capitulate, but Karaiskaki insisted on an unconditional surrender, engaging only to spare their lives. To an Arnaut life is less precious than his arms, and therefore, with that stubborn valour innate in their tribes, and which no misfortune seems able to quench, they embraced the desperate expedient of crossing Parnassus, then covered with deep snow. The consequence was their total extermination, for a wintry storm setting in with uncommon fury, (December the 6th,) and the Greeks closely pursuing, a mere handful escaped, frostbitten and crippled: 1200 were killed or frozen to death, and their baggage and girdles afforded a rich booty to the insurgents, who sent the heads of their four beys to Egina.*

* Upon the fall of the Kihaya Bey by a shot through the temples, one of his own Albanians cut off the head, and put it in a sack, meaning to save it from the hands of the Christians, but was slain himself soon after.

This event compromised the safety of the Roumeli Valesi's army, at a period when he had but few troops, because many of his mercenaries had quitted him, and would not return until the spring. Apprehending a general insurrection in his rear, if Karaiskaki was not checked, he detached Osman Pasha with 600 men to Davlia, and pressed the Vizier of Negropont to take the field, and save the castles of Livadia and Salona. While a Greek corps at Dystomo amused Osman Pasha, Karaiskaki marching towards Thermopylæ, met on the 19th near Velizza, a large convoy proceeding from Zeituni to Athens. The Mussulmans in front, mistaking his vanguard of cavalry for a body of their friends, rode up to him without suspicion, and were undeceived by a sudden attack, which Karaiskaki directed in person, killing with his own hand their leading officer: sharpened by a long fast, and the sight of plenty, the insurgents rushed with impetuosity upon the convoy, dispersed its escort, and took 1000 beasts loaded with provisions and gunpowder, as well as a variety of luxuries, such as sugar, coffee, and tobacco. Karaiskaki then straitened the blockade of Salona, overran Lidoriki and Kravari, and, on the 14th of January, routed the garrison of Lepanto. The peasants every where received him with joy; Iskos, Rhangos, and Sifaka, threw off the allegiance they had sworn to the Turks, the flag of independence waved once more from Makrynoros to the Corinthian gulf, and a gleam of hope shot across the horizon of Northern Greece. This, however, was but brief sunshine, the country being so thoroughly wasted and drained, that it lay at the mercy of the first occupant, and its fate hung upon that of Athens.

Karaiskaki's projects of organization were also thwarted by the passions of his lieutenants; the Souliotes, too haughty to obey a Greek of another race,

caballed against him, and the Armatolic captains resented as an insult his wish to alleviate the burdens of their serfs, the suffering peasantry. Kutahi's yoke having sat lightly upon them, they temporized, and were ready to veer with the gales of fortune, while Karaiskaki, obliged to disseminate his troops in many different cantons, was nowhere strong enough to use severity.

On the 29th, a courier brought him word, that Omer and Osman Pashas had united their forces to the number of 2000 men at Turcokhorio, and were assaulting Dystomo, defended by 300 Greeks. Hastening thither, he cut a passage through the enemy, and entered that town on the 1st of February: both parties then intrenched themselves on opposite heights, and skirmished incessantly.

On the 12th, a warm action took place, and victory was declaring for the insurgents, when the beating of drums, the unexpected glittering of bayonets, and show of uniforms, induced them to retire to their tambourias. These unusual signs indicated the approach of a battalion of the Sultan's regular soldiers, and this was the first sample of them exhibited to the Greeks, who, on farther acquaintance, discovered they were not at all formidable: 5000 of them marched from Constantinople, but scarce 500 arrived at Negropont, the others having deserted by the way.

Omer Pasha, ill in health, and not on the best terms with the Roumeli Valesi, had reluctantly moved from Eubœa in the midst of winter; seeing himself almost surrounded by the Christians, and fearing a catastrophe like that of Rakhova, he decamped in the night of the 17th, and retreated in disorder, after sawing asunder his only cannon. Nearly at the same time, a body of Turks, landing at Scala from three ships of war, was beaten off, and Panourias took possession of the castle of Salona, abandoned by its garrison.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK VI.—CHAP. III.

Extracts from a Correspondence of RESHID PASHA, *intercepted by the Greeks in September* 1826.

No. I.—LETTER to the GRAND VIZIER.

THE citadel of Athens (as is well known to your Excellency) was built in old times upon a high and steep rock, which defies equally mines and assaults; it is distant six hours journey from the borders of the Morea, and is near to the islands. As the said castle is so ancient, and contains many monuments, and many philosophers have gone forth from thence, it fills with admiration the learned men among the Franks; and all the nations of Infidels, called Nazarenes, venerate it as a holy place, and look upon it as their own property. Wherefore they have conspired, promising to assist each other, and to exert themselves to the uttermost, that it may never pass out of the hands of the unbelievers. Hitherto they are divided into two parties, here and on the confines, and fifty Hydriote vessels are for ever encircling the coast,* (twenty or thirty together,) with a design, as it seems, of doing some injury to the property of our tributary subjects, who have submitted to us. We are guarding the plain towards the sea, and your servant hath forgotten sleep, giving himself up entirely to the care of watching the apostate rebels. If the Greek infidels unite, and march against us, we trust in God to be able to confound their execrable devices, through the protection of Divine Providence, and the wonder-working prayers of our Emperor, who inherits the glory of the earth. In our present circumstances, it is very necessary that one bold and skilful Vizier should be destined solely to the siege of Athens, and that to him the whole direction of it should be com-

* A monstrous exaggeration! Kutahi had seen only two Psarrian brigs, and a schooner belonging to Fabvier.

mitted; because, if even for a single day, the presence of such a Vizier were wanting, the state of the country round us would be turned upside down; and since your servant is burdened with too many cares, it is proper that Omer Pasha of Negropont be immediately appointed to that charge. I swear to you by my faith, as a true slave of his Highness, that although from the hour I came before Athens, I have laboured with my whole soul, by day and by night, in wresting the houses and convents out of the power of the infidels, yet, after a thousand difficulties, I have only cleansed half the city from the evil odour of their domination. The miners sent me from Constantinople are worthless, and therefore, by the advice of intelligent persons, I have written to Scopia for ten diggers of saltpetre, who promise to come here in eighteen days; if they keep their word, and are really capable, the business may be brought to a conclusion. It is incredible what trouble we have had in procuring provisions, but as yet we have succeeded, by buying from the soldiers at any price the booty they on several occasions took from the unbelievers. I have set the mills at work round Athens, which grind daily 5000 okes of corn: this does not suffice, but what can we do? the camp is pinched with hunger, and our only hope rests on the supplies expected from Larissa.

(No. II.)—*Written with Kutahi's own hand to Ali Aga, at Constantinople.*

My Lord, send me provisions. It is absolutely necessary that the appointed Vizier should arrive here a moment sooner, that I may go and occupy the Dervend now, while the best soldiers of Roumeli are engaged in civil war in Moreh; because if those troops march forth and join their regular corps, not only have we lost our labour, but we shall be exterminated! If we were once masters of Roumeli, we can conquer Moreh when we will, and I undertake to reduce it in two months, with the aid of Allah, and the prayers of our Emperor. This depends upon your energy; otherwise we are but dead men!*

* We have a suspicion, that under the address of Ali Aga, this letter was meant for the private perusal of Sultan Mahmoud: the civil war Reshid refers to was that waged at Corinth.

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAP. I.

Factions at Egina and Hermione—Arrival of Lord Cochrane and Sir Richard Church—General Assembly of Trœzene, and Election of Count John Capodistria to the Presidency of Greece—Negotiations at Constantinople—Treaty of the 6th of July.

SECTION I.

No country in the jaws of ruin ever offered a more deplorable spectacle of internal discord, than did Greece at the beginning of the year 1827, when her notables were divided into three factions, not less opposed on grounds of general policy, than animated by personal rancour. The ostensible motives of debate were twofold, relating, first, to the selection of a place for holding their congress, and, secondly, whether it should consist of the same deputies who attended at Piada, or of a set of representatives now to be chosen; but these were only blinds to conceal the real views of the parties.

Equally afraid of Colocotroni's influence in Peloponnesus, and Condouriotti's at Hydra, the governing commissions withdrew to the sequestered rock of Egina, where they thought it would be easy to dictate to the assembly, and maintain themselves in power, until English mediation produced some favourable result, in which case they expected to see Zaimis fixed at the head of the administration; meanwhile they pretended to be solely occupied with the affairs of

Roumelia, and professed great anxiety for the relief of Athens.

Colocotroni and his family, conceiving that the time was come for securing their own triumph, and that of Russia, their secret protectress, insisted on the formation of a new congress: the old chief resided at Hermione, surrounded by a band of soldiers, and a motley group of Moreote deputies, as venal and obsequious as his mercenaries, and, like them, subsisted partly by plunder* and partly out of the magazines of the French committee, which Dr Bailly, General Roches' successor, opened to them, in order to do a despite to the friends of England.

Condouriotti, indifferent to European connexion, and solicitous to keep his ascendency over the mob of Hydra, was hostile to every man that appeared to stand between him and the presidency: his newspaper continued its acrimonious libels on the government, asserted that foreign aid was needless, preached democratical doctrines, and affected to consider Poros as the legal place of meeting. It would have been strange if, amidst such a shock of opinions, troubles had not broken out; and indeed civil war at Nauplia and popular sedition at Hydra immediately followed the migration of the two councils to Egina. A casual fracas among the soldiers, arising from intoxication, brought on a rupture between Grivas and Fotomarra, who despised the authority of a provisional commission left by the Executive to govern the capital; on the 15th of December the forts of Palamide and Itchkalè exchanged a cannonade, so ill directed as to do little harm; but next day the interference of some prudent persons put an end to the feud for the present. At Hydra, the disturbances were more serious, and founded on weigh-

* Without so much as alleging a pretext, Colocotroni confiscated a cargo of salt belonging to Emanuel Tombazi.

tier reasons. The lower classes there really wanted the necessaries of life, and as their distress boded no good to the Primates, Miaulis, the Tombazis, Boudouris, Tzamados, &c. (all opponents of the house of Condouriotti), instead of bringing home their vessels at the close of the last naval campaign, laid them up at Poros. These symptoms of distrust exasperating the people, the sailors rose, confined their magistrates (December the 1st), exacted a promise that the ships should be sent back, and complained that they had been defrauded of their share of the prizes. As Miaulis and Emanuel Tombazi were absent, the populace threatened to destroy their splendid dwellings. However, the brothers Condouriotti, by soft words, appeased their violence, and two committees were named, one of captains, the other of common seamen, to consider the people's demands and maintain order. Foreseeing that they would be forced to pay down a heavy sum, and alarmed by insidious reports of a design being on foot to murder them, the Archons concerted amongst themselves a plan of clandestine evasion. Jackovaki Tombazi and Basil Boudouri got on board an English frigate; but the town-guard, headed by one of their own most devoted satellites, arrested at the sea-side the Condouriottis and several of their kinsmen. Although each party taxed the other with having betrayed the secret, there can be no doubt that the whole was a trick of the two Condouriottis to remove their rivals; since, that once effected, they hushed the sedition, and confirmed their popularity, by engaging to feed the poorer mariners through the winter; for which purpose they subscribed 100,000 piastres, and raised 150,000 more by selling the brass guns on the batteries.

They likewise joined the people in summoning the fugitive Archons to return, and would have seized by force the vessels at Poros, had it not been for Captain

Hamilton's interposition. He was at Smyrna when he heard of these troubles, and, seeing through Condouriotti's scheme of crushing the partisans of England, anchored, on the 13th, at the Mettrichi, opposite to Hydra, declaring that he would protect Tombazi's family, which was detained in the town, and would not suffer the shipping at Poros to be meddled with. Besides an old claim he had against the Hydriote community for 80,000 dollars on account of illegal captures, a recent circumstance gave him a right to buffet those who were persecuting his friends.

In open contravention of a previous arrangement he had concluded with the municipality, Captain Zakas, accompanied by 150 of the worst characters in the island, went out to cruise, November the 30th, in Condouriotti's corvette, without any letter of marque. They came into port on the 19th, after pillaging one or two Ionian craft; and on the 21st, Hamilton, who had rallied part of his squadron, and received the expatriated Primates on board the Cambrian, made a peremptory demand, that the corvette, the stolen goods, and the person of Zakas, should be delivered up to him. Getting no satisfactory reply, he, on the afternoon of the 22d, despatched 200 men in boats, who boarded and cut out all the vessels in the harbour. Two frigates, a corvette, and brig, that supported the boats, had no occasion to use their great guns; but unfortunately Zakas opposed just resistance enough to cause a fire of small arms, which mortally wounded ten Hydriotes, and amongst them the brave bruloteer Politis, who was standing on the quay a simple spectator.* Next morning harmony was re-established, the English commander consenting to forgive Zakas, and restore his

* So well assured was Hamilton of the love of the Hydriote people, that amidst the fire he rowed ashore in his gig, and was greeted with shouts by the mob.

captures, except Condouriotti's corvette and a brig belonging to Miaulis: the first he sent to Malta, the second to Poros, where he stationed the Glasgow frigate, to prevent the ruling faction at Hydra from taking away the vessels of their antagonists. Conferences passed on board the Cambrian between the Condouriottis and Tombazis; but as they could not be brought to a better understanding, Hamilton went to Castri, to inculcate lessons of moderation upon Colocotroni.

The bitterness of the measure he had recourse to, in order to obtain satisfaction, although perfectly justifiable and attended with an effect salutary to neutral commerce, did not mollify the angry feelings of the malecontent islanders, who, imputing his conduct to the suggestions of their adversaries at Egina, and bent upon revenge, threw themselves into the arms of Colocotroni, and agreed to recognise as a national assembly his cortege at Hermione.* Hydra then annulled the powers of its former representatives, and chose new ones, known to be of a different way of thinking, George Condouriotti's name standing first on the list; Spezzia did the same thing, and even the Psarrians fell away from the two councils living among them. The Cretan and Samian deputies absconding from Egina went over to Colocotroni, and old Sisini, who had been tampering with both sides, and staid at Nauplia after the departure of his colleagues, also repaired to Castri. So many defections disheartened the Anglo-Greeks; as their authority was sinking, they lowered their tone, and commis-

* On the 31st of December 1826, the author of this work was on a visit to Colocotroni at Castri, when after dinner, wine having freely circulated, the chief stretched out his arm towards the monastery of Hydra, exclaiming, "It was there they made me a monk." At midnight an express-boat brought him a ratification of the compact he had concluded with Condouriotti.

sioned six of their members to proceed to Hermione, and propose a compromise. This self-abasement of theirs puffed up the arrogance of the French and Russian parties, who returned a haughty answer, and on the 23d of February opened the session, Sisini being elected president, and Spigliades secretary. Those of Egina had no alternative in support of their title but to follow the example; so that two Congresses of the Greek nation were deliberating almost within sight of each other; and by the scandalous process of double and sham elections, that both had put in practice, each was enabled to count a number of deputies, equal to what the law required; namely, two-thirds of the whole. There were a few points on which the islanders and Peloponnesians collected at Castri coincided in opinion; these were, assuring Mr Stratford Canning that they adhered to the basis of mediation, writing to the French ambassador at Constantinople, to request that he too would employ his good offiees in favour of Greece, and reversing the decree of proscription pronounced at Piada against Ypsilanti: on every other question, how trifling soever its importance, they quarrelled outright, and a schism became inevitable. The immutable aim of Colocotroni, and his counsellor Metaxa, in getting up all this machinery, was to seat Capodistria on the throne of Greece; and they had artfully deluded Condouriotti, who abhorred such an idea, imagining he had a better right to govern that country himself. When he was aware of the trick they had played him, he immediately cooled, and relapsed into a kind of sulky neutrality. As he swayed the islanders, and nothing bearing the semblance of legality could be done without their concurring votes, Metaxa, reckless of consequences, recommended the Moreotes to proclaim Capodistria President, and then secede from the meeting; but Colocotroni, whose natural sagacity was seldom at fault, saw in the

arrival of two distinguished foreigners a safer method of accomplishing his plan, and possessed sufficient cunning to overthrow the English party, through the agency of Englishmen.

Eighteen years before, when Britain occupied most of the Ionian islands, a battalion of Greeks was embodied at Zante under the orders of Major Church, (then a rising young officer,) who well acquitted himself of the functions he was charged with; not only leading them bravely into action at Santa Maura, where he received a severe wound, but succeeding in the harder task of bending their minds to the restraint of discipline, and gaining their affection. His regiment being afterwards given to Colonel Oswald, he was directed to raise a second one, which he rendered as effective as the first. Peace came, the two battalions were disbanded, and Church passing into the Neapolitan service, was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and decorated with several orders of knighthood; but neither time nor distance weakened the honourable attachment that subsisted between him and his military pupils. His name was constantly in the mouths of Colocotroni, Anagnostoras, Nikitas, Colliopoulo, and other eminent chiefs, who often expressed a hope that he would once more fight at their head. In the summer of 1826, the Executive, taking umbrage at Fabvier's acerb demeanour, and wishing to cement its intimacy with England, addressed a letter to Sir Richard Church, offering him the command of the Greek land forces; and he who had long been anxiously watching the progress of the revolution, accepted from the bottom of his heart an invitation so flattering and so agreeable to him. At the beginning of this year, he sailed from Leghorn in a small schooner, and on the 9th of March anchored in Porto Kheli, the ancient harbour of Mases. As by land it is distant but three leagues from Hermione, the news soon

transpired there, and Colocotroni, accompanied by Metaxa and a guard of honour, set out at midnight to bid him welcome. Next morning at sunrise, they cordially embraced under the Greek colours, and the Peloponnesian Stratarch, turning to his soldiers, said, "Our father is at last come; we have only to obey him, and our liberty is secured." In that delightful moment of enthusiasm he had forgotten politics, and gave vent to the feelings of his soul with much natural eloquence. When the cavalcade entered Castri, all was joy and feasting; but Church, not altogether dazzled by a profusion of compliments, declared that he would not doff the character of a private traveller until he could bring about a fusion of parties. He sailed on the 11th with Captain Hamilton for Egina, where his reception was gratifying, although the Executive was somewhat nettled at his having first visited Castri. However, in their declining fortune, they esteemed it a lucky circumstance that they had discovered a way of emerging with tolerable credit out of a disadvantageous struggle, and therefore chose him umpire, with full power to terminate the dispute. The difficulty now lay with their opponents, who put forth unreasonable pretensions; but Hamilton dashed their pride, by threatening to write to the ambassador at Constantinople, that Greece was in too disorganized a state to be worthy the care of Europe. Condouriotti plainly told the Moreotes, that he and the Island deputies were determined to go to Poros, and Cochrane's arrival completed the work of pacification. Departing from England in June, his lordship cruised about the Mediterranean for four months in a handsome yacht, expecting to fall in with the American frigate and the steam-vessels: as a feigned name, which he assumed, did not conceal his identity, he was refused admission into the ports of Italy, Sicily, and Malta. The besotted government of Naples even thought it necessary

to send its only line-of-battle ship to drive him from Messina, and guard against the enterprises of his schooner armed with two nine-pounders. In autumn he landed at Marseilles, went to Geneva, and corresponded with the Paris committee, which purchased for him, at a cost of 260,000 francs, a fine eighteen-gun brig. Learning that the Hellas frigate had reached Nauplia, he again put to sea with his schooner and this brig, made Hydra, (March 17th,) and having communicated with the authorities there, proceeded to Egina. As the Greeks had long ago dismissed all thoughts of seeing him, his abrupt appearance caused a very great sensation, and from every quarter, and every party, deputations hastened to offer him their incense. He was naturally out of humour with the posture in which he found things, censured the folly of the insurgents in good set terms, declined going ashore at Egina, advised the Congress of Hermione (in his reply to its address) to have the first Philippic of Demosthenes read in full assembly, and protested, that unless they healed their divisions, he would have nothing to do with their affairs. His resolution being made public, there was a loud cry against the factions, and for once the voice of the Greek people was heard and listened to by the military and municipal aristocracy. The contending chiefs assented to an outline of conciliation which Church traced for them, and by an arrangement, concluded on the 24th of March, it was settled that while the Executive repaired to Poros, the representatives then sitting at Egina and Hermione should coalesce into a national congress at Trœzene. Before breaking up from Castri, the Peloponnesians signed a paper binding themselves to persevere in electing Capodistria.

As the village of Damala, standing amidst the ruins of Trœzene, does not contain above forty houses, and could neither afford a building spacious enough for the

assembly, nor accommodation for the members, amounting to about 200, a garden of lemon trees, watered by the classic fountain of Hippocrene, served as the place of meeting: Mavrocordato, Zaimis, and their friends, resided at Poros; Church, with Colocotroni, and those of his party, at Damala; Condouriotti, and the island deputies, in the convent of Celenderis; and Lord Cochrane lived on board his yacht. On the 7th of April, the old Executive, having published in the gazette an exposé of its past administration, laid down the authority conferred upon it at Piada. The first sitting of the Congress presented a scene of uproar, owing to the treachery of the Colocotronists, who, supposing they had a small majority, and encouraged by the circumstance of Sisini's being still allowed to fill the president's chair, proposed a verification of powers, with a view to exclude many of their antagonists. As this was a direct breach of covenant, it excited general indignation; but the remonstrances of Church, the invectives of Cochrane, and an intimation that the garrison of Nauplia was threatening to pay an armed visit to Trœzene, quashed so scandalous an overture. Again the legislators met, and again separated in confusion and anger, for, upon the mention of Capodistria's name, the islanders rose, and rushed out of the garden. If Condouriotti and Zaimis had pulled steadily together, they might have staved off a choice so unpropitious to Greece; but the opposition was disjointed, its leaders at variance, destitute of foreign appui, and labouring under the imputation of selfishness. The indigenous notabilities had been weighed and found wanting; the people called for a stranger; there was no other candidate brought forwards to unite the suffrages of those who were averse to Russia; Cochrane and Church unequivocally approved of Capodistria's election, and *Hamilton*, whose influence was superior to theirs, de-

sirous to promote concord, and believing that the Count would not accept the intended honour, said nothing. Astounded at his indifference, and the feeling manifested by two English Philhellenes of rank, (one of whom they deemed to be in the confidence of the British cabinet,) the foes of that measure became diffident, hesitated, and finally yielded with reluctance to the ex-minister's nomination. As soon as their tacit acquiescence was understood, the assembly quietly entered upon its deliberations, and the first business it transacted, was Lord Cochrane's appointment to command the fleet. He stood before the Congress, (April the 10th,) and after apologizing, in a short speech, for the delays that had attended his expedition, took on his sword an oath of fidelity, and hoisted his flag on the same day at the main of the Hellas. Next morning, Count John Capodistria was proclaimed governor of Greece for the space of seven years.

This act, enounced with acclamation by the Colocotronists, and undoubtedly agreeable to the bulk of the nation, gave pain to most liberal and reflecting men: the Anglo-Greeks hung down their heads, and Condouriotti, with the deputies of Hydra, Spezzia, and Psarra, obstinately remained at Celenderis, until urged to move by Hamilton's earnest persuasion; when he and his associates walked up the hill towards Damala, with the air of criminals marching to execution.

On Easter Sunday, (the 15th,) Sir Richard Church was sworn into the office of generalissimo, the Archbishop of Arta administering the oath to him, in the same way as to Lord Cochrane. That the country might not be left in a state of interregnum, a vice-governing commission of three persons was installed to rule during Capodistria's absence. In its anxiety to shut out all those functionaries that had hitherto abused their authority, the assembly resolved to select untried men,

but unfortunately pitched upon three very worthless individuals. The Beyzadè George Mavromikhali, who was placed at the head of the new commission, partly owed that elevation to the zeal he displayed in forwarding the election of a statesman, into whose bosom he hath since plunged a dagger: his colleagues were Milaitis, a Psarrian, enjoying a reputation less than questionable, and John Nakos of Livadia, perhaps the most consummate blockhead in all Roumelia.

They migrated to Poros, on the 17th, and left the national representatives at Damala, debating with indecent vehemence some modifications of the constitution of Epidaurus. As the subject required more time and patience than they were willing to bestow, it was bequeathed to a committee of five members, and on the 17th of May, Sisini closed the session by a proclamation, in which he recapitulated the events of the last few months, and portrayed the future prospects of Greece in glowing colours. Previous to its dissolution the Congress sanctioned a law, authorizing Count Capodistria to contract a loan for 5,000,000 of dollars: a more remarkable feature of its concluding operations, was an enactment that disqualified ecclesiastics from sitting as legislators, or discharging any secular duties. Whatever may be thought of the abstract policy of such an ordinance, it was certainly fraught with ingratitude to the Hellenic clergy, which, in the course of the revolution, had shown tolerant and patriotic sentiments, and borne its full share of toil and danger.

SECTION II.

EVEN to the Greeks themselves, domestic matters were now but of secondary interest, since they looked for deliverance to the north and west; and the pending

mediation of England, France, and Russia, absorbed their attention.

An hundred and sixty years ago, an experienced Venetian Bail, conversing at Adrianople with Sir John Chardin, dropped the following expression:—"The policy of the Turks is better than that of Europe, inasmuch as it is founded on plain good sense, and goes straight to its object, unshackled by artificial forms and maxims." What has passed in our days confirms the truth of this apophthegm, uttered by Quirini in the 17th century. We have seen the Ottomans blunting on their buckler of steadfast haughtiness the shafts of Christian diplomacy, never conceding an inch of the principle they set out upon, laughing to scorn the attempts made to cajole and intimidate them, and spinning to an unprecedented length the definitive conclusion of arrangements they could not break off. What a biting commentary does the history of the last six years append to that deluge of unmeaning phrases and paltry shuffling, which constitute talent in the eyes of modern diplomatists? The Porte was sensible that any acknowledgement, however guarded, of Grecian independence, must open an irreparable breach in her European dominions, and that pressed as she was on the north by the Muscovite colossus, she ought to run all risks rather than tamely suffer a subtle and usurping neighbour to take root to the south of Constantinople. Russia knew well whither the mediation would lead her, but England and France seem to have entered upon it without justly calculating the result; contenting themselves with a gratuitous assumption, that big words would do the business, and that in the approaching controversy, the weaker must shape his measures so as to suit the convenience of the stronger party.

As the fruit of his negotiation during the year 1826, Mr Stratford Canning obtained a trumpery firman, for-

bidding Kutahi to injure the monuments of Athens; an injunction the Pasha could not obey unless he had silenced his artillery: it was granted, however, with that sort of animus, which sometimes prompts a nurse to soothe with cakes children who are crying for the moon.

The diplomatic siege could not be regularly laid, until the Marquis Ribeaupierre made his appearance; but that minister was in no hurry to repair to his post, and a suspicion went abroad that the conduct of England in Portuguese affairs, and Mr Canning's celebrated speech in the House of Commons, had given such dissatisfaction to the Court of St Petersburgh, that the protocol of April the 4th would fall to the ground. When it was known that the representative of the Emperor Nicholas had quitted Odessa, on his way to Constantinople, the British Ambassador, and Mr Mintshaky, each presented a note (February the 5th), craving a suspension of hostilities, and the latter assured the divan, that the Autocrat, his master, would in no case be a passive spectator of the destruction of the Greeks. On the 11th, Mr Ribeaupierre reached the capital, and lost no time in reiterating Mintshaky's arguments. Neither his instances, nor the avowed adhesion of France to the protocol, shook the firmness of the Porte; the Reis Effendi, declining to return a written reply to the ambassadors' notes, in a succession of conferences, passionately rejected their propositions; expressing his surprise, that powers, which had crushed every rebellious movement in the west, should be so tender towards rebels in the east. He reproached Mr Canning with the bad faith of his cabinet, in allowing Englishmen to lead the Greek fleets and armies, and broadly hinted that in requital of the concessions of Akerman, Russia had promised to leave the insurgents to their fate: in fine, he declared that

rather than compromise his dignity, the Sultan would try the fate of arms. Meanwhile, the peace that had subsisted for ten years betwixt the states of Christendom and the Mahommedan nations was interrupted on two points near the extremities of the Turkish empire, Muscovy being embroiled in a contest with the Shah of Persia, and France having denounced war against Algiers. From Greece the Porte was gratified with favourable accounts, and the Turks, no doubt, flattered themselves that the question would be settled before the three powers could resolve to act. But this same consideration infused vigour into the councils of the mediators, although we are persuaded that in London and Paris nothing was yet contemplated beyond a degree of intimidation which might enforce their diplomatic representations. Probably the cries of humanity would not have troubled the slumbers of the British, and still less of the French ministry, if they had not received intimation that the Emperor Nicholas was preparing to step in at the twelfth hour; when the horrors inseparable from a reconquest of Greece by the Mussulmans would sanctify his ambition in the opinion of Europe. Teased with importunity, and determined to abridge an unpleasant discussion, the Reis Effendi put in writing the Porte's ultimatum, and sent it (June the 10th) to the Christian legations. Although obscured by Oriental prolixity of style, the paper was replete with sound reasoning, and logical inductions, that did not admit of easy refutation.

It began by laying down the general principles of human polity, deducing from thence the right of each independent state to apply its own code of laws to internal transactions, and insisting that the Sublime Porte had always faithfully observed her treaties; then passing to the Greek question, it reproduced almost word for word the answer given to Strogonoff's ultimatum

in July, 1821. After dilating upon these topics, and complaining of the aid lent the insurgents by the subjects of powers in amity with Turkey, as well as of the inutility of former remonstrances, the note proceeded thus—

"Those who know all the details connected with these events cannot be ignorant, that at the commencement of the rebellion, some foreign ministers, accredited to the Porte, offered an active co-operation in punishing the rebels ;* but their offer, however well meant, relating to an affair, whose competence the Porte exclusively reserved to herself, was declined. Again, when the ambassador of a friendly court, (Lord Strangford,) at the epoch of his journey to Verona, unfolded to a Turkish minister a proposal of mediation, the Porte replied, that she could not listen to it; basing her refusal then, as now, upon national, political, and religious considerations.

"Yielding to the force of reason, the said ambassador, at his return to Constantinople, announced by order of his court, and in the name of other powers, that the Greek question belonged solely to the Porte, which was entitled to terminate it as she thought fit.

"The agents of another great power, which hath lately consolidated her amicable relations with the Porte, also stated officially and explicitly, that there would be no foreign intervention; and as this declaration was a groundwork to the issue of their negotiation, there is no longer any room for discussion."

Having struck these hard blows at England and Russia, the Reis Effendi handled the subject of piracy, that being assigned as a principal motive for European

* This sentence corroborates our assertion in the First Book, that only Ottoman pride saved the Greeks from being treated like the *Italians* and Spaniards.

interference; alleging that the continued resistance of the rebels, and the disorders arising therefrom, might be traced to their knowledge of the proposals of the three courts; and that whatever damage the war occasioned, fell chiefly on the Ottoman people. He defined the doctrine of intervention to be the interposition of a third party in the quarrel of two potentates alike recognised, and consequently inapplicable to the case of a sovereign chastising refractory vassals. In conclusion, he summed up his former objections, and asseverated once for all the Sultan's irrevocable determination not to swerve from the line duty and honour prescribed to him.

An answer so thoroughly categorical left only the option of desisting altogether from the project of mediation, or supporting it with the sword; and accordingly on the reception in London of the Turkish note, the famous treaty of the 6th of July was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

It contained but one stipulation that was not embodied in the protocol of St Petersburgh; namely, that the Greeks should become possessors of the landed property situated in their own islands and mainland, on condition of indemnifying the Mussulman proprietors. An additional article provided that, if within the term of a month, the Ottoman Porte did not accept the intervention about to be formally proposed, the high contracting parties agreed to establish commercial relations with Greece, by appointing consular agents, and would, moreover, instruct the admirals, commanding their naval forces in the Levant, to impose an armistice, de facto, on the belligerents. The instructions that were drawn up by common consent, in a conference held at the Foreign Office, (July the 12th,) authorized the admirals to prevent the transmission of troops



and supplies from Turkey or Egypt to Greece, at the same time desiring them studiously to avoid hostilities, except the Turks attempted to force a passage. Dispatches were forwarded to the three ambassadors, enclosing formulas of a first and second declaration to be addressed to the Porte, and of another intended for the Greek government; and Colonel Cradock set out on a mission to Alexandria, in order to prevail upon the Viceroy to withdraw his army from the Morea.

As it was arranged that a combined fleet, furnished by the powers which signed the treaty, should give effect to its dispositions, two seventy-fours (the Genoa and Albion) sailed from England to reinforce the British Admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, who had hoisted his flag at the fore of the Asia of eighty-four guns: the French sent into the Archipelago four line-of-battle ships, and Admiral Siniavin arrived at Spithead with a Russian squadron of eight sail of the line, and eight frigates; but his armament being out of proportion with those of England and France, half of it returned to Cronstadt; and Rear-Admiral Count Heyden proceeded on his voyage to the Mediterranean (August the 20th) with four two-deckers and as many frigates.

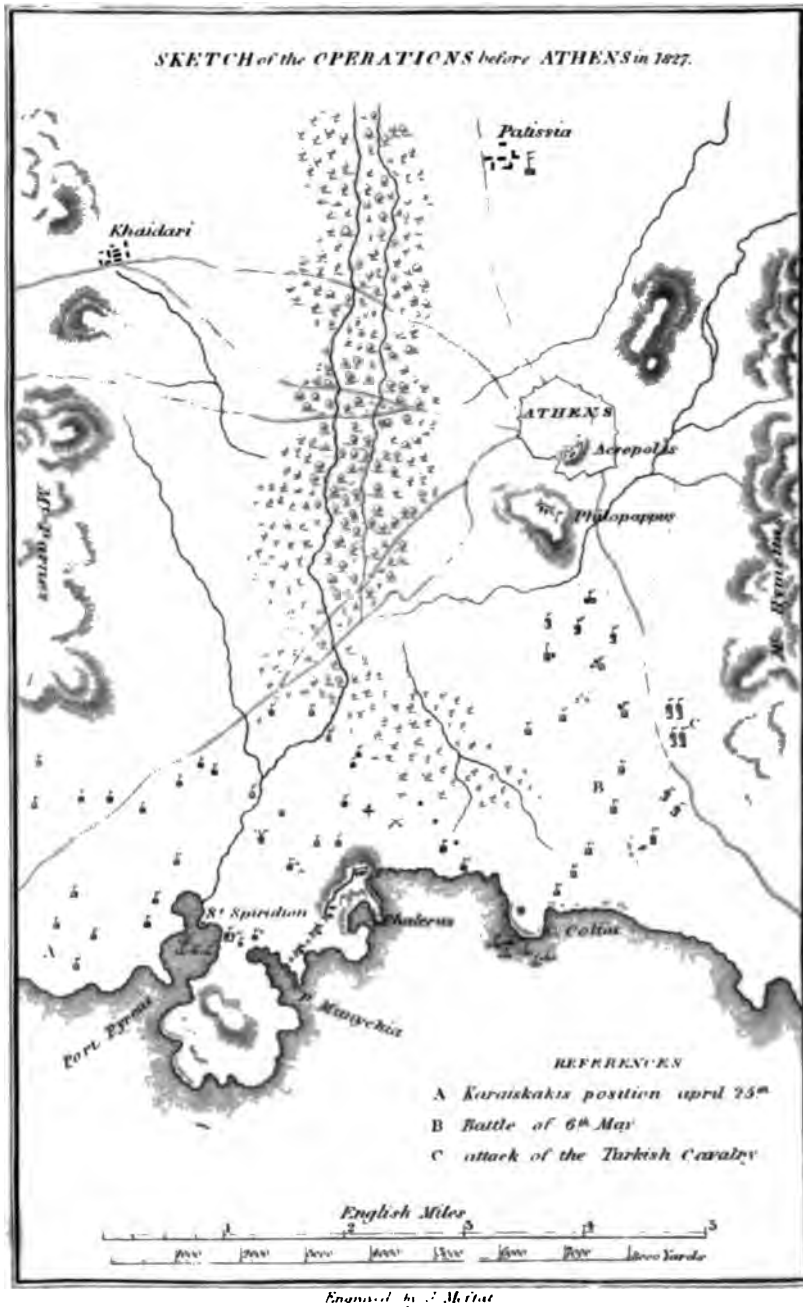
History does not record any public act so unanimously applauded throughout the civilized world, as the treaty of the 6th of July; but just as the illustrious minister who planned and brought it to maturity was reaping his reward in the admiration of millions, the grave swallowed him up, and his death, which happened on the 8th of August, committing to feebler hands the task of executing the measure he had sketched, marred the grand aim of his policy—the speedy cessation of bloodshed in the East. While the unfeigned sorrow of his own countrymen, and the whole liberal party, was the noblest monument to his memory, the

Turks looked upon his demise as a judgment from Heaven, for his insults to the faith of Islam.

On the 16th of the same month, the ambassadors at Constantinople notified to the Reis Effendi, through their interpreters, the treaty of London, with which he was already acquainted, and therefore indicated neither surprise nor emotion: as however he would not receive a written communication they bore, they placed it on his sofa and retired. Neither would he condescend to answer it, pretending that its contents were unintelligible. In vain the ambassadors offered explanations, and sought to draw him into the field of controversy: he was inflexible. When his pertinacious silence was reported to the conference, the Russian plenipotentiary proposed to starve the divan into compliance by a conjoined blockade of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and the French minister stated the ready concurrence of his court, but Lord Dudley, on the part of England, objected to that step as being too violent; for the British cabinet acted under an impression, that to be obeyed, it was enough for the Allies to manifest their will; and had no idea of the quantum of inert resistance Turkey was likely to oppose. Had Mr Canning lived, we conceive that he would have unmasked the fallacy, and adapted his ulterior conduct to the exigency of circumstances; nay, it is probable he would have acquiesced in Prince Lieven's suggestion, as the surest mode of smothering the flames of war. However that be, his successors in office could not shake off their dream, but continued to hesitate and temporize, until the Russian eagles soared above the towers of Adrianople.

The Turks, on the other hand, unable to comprehend what secret spell linked England and France to that northern Empire, whose projects of aggrandizement in Greece and Asia they had constantly striven against, expected from day to day a notable change of system;

thus three of the four cabinets rolled about in a sea of doubt and conjecture, waiting for some event which might guide their deliberations; and in this state of suspense they were suddenly startled by the cannon of Navarin.



Engraved by J. McGhie

CHAP. II.

Continuation of the siege of Athens—Campaign in Roumelia during the first six months of the year 1827—Surrender of the Acropolis.

SECTION I.

LIKE wrestlers, who have put forth all their might in a long struggle, the contending parties in Greece, after six years of warfare, betrayed symptoms of lassitude, especially the insurgents, on whose minds the fall of Messalonghi impressed a deep gloom; they could not hide from themselves the painful truth that their strength was failing. Yet, as a taper burns brightly a moment before its extinction, so they summoned up their energies for a last effort, and the result was a vigorous, though unfortunate campaign. The avowed intention of England to screen them from extermination, was an antidote to total despondency; Karaiskaki's success cheered their spirits, and they were comforted by the unceasing kindness of their partisans in Europe. Their most enthusiastic friend, the King of Bavaria, gave them at this period a remarkable proof of his affection; not satisfied with having frequently bestowed large pecuniary donations, he sent to Greece one of his aides-de-camp (Colonel Heydeck) with a dozen of officers and sergeants, who arrived at Nauplia in December 1826; their excellent conduct, and proficiency in various talents, reflected as much credit on his Majesty's discrimination, as lustre on the Bavarian military. Colonel Heydeck's arrival, coinciding with that of the frigate, was equally agreeable; he never

appeared in the field, and restrained most of his officers from exposing themselves, but he was exceedingly useful in exercising a salutary control over the offerings of Philhellenism, and checking waste and robbery.

As, since the days of Gustavus Adolphus, there was no example of a crowned head having been guided in any public transaction by disinterested motives, the King of Bavaria's generosity displeased his brother monarchs, and stung Prince Metternich to the quick. We now resume our narrative of the siege of Athens.

Fabvier's gallant exploit in cutting his way through the Turkish lines added little to the safety of the Acropolis, while the influx of so many men into a narrow and crowded space aggravated the distress of the whole garrison; as every building or shed was fully tenanted previous to his entrance, his soldiers, more lightly clad than the Pallikars, suffered greatly from cold and disease, and the colonel himself was attacked with a fever. Kutahi, quietly seated at Patissia, strengthening his intrenchments, and preserving his communication with Eubœa, annoyed the besieged by pouring in daily a few vollies from his batteries: eight or ten Philhellenes were killed by the shells or cannon-balls, and among them Mr Raffanelle, the first historian of the Greek revolution. The firman granted to Mr Stratford Canning, did not save the Parthenon from being a good deal battered, and in the destruction of the Temple of Erectheus, the arts had to deplore an irreparable loss, rendered more melancholy by the concomitant holocaust of female beauty and innocence; the widow of Ghouras, and the principal Athenian ladies, who lodged there as in a place of security, were crushed to death under the ruins. Next to humbling its rivals at Hermione, the Executive had nothing so much at heart as raising the siege of Athens; as well on account of the éclat it would give, as because the British ambassador at Constantinople

had signified, that if the Acropolis surrendered, Roumelia would be excluded from the benefit of mediation. On the 1st of January 1827, the only Greek force in Attica consisted of Vassos' corps of 1000 men, stationed at Eleusis and Salamis, and consequently to drive Reshid Pasha out of the province was no easy enterprise for a tottering government without funds or authority. Nevertheless, the President Zaimis, blowing the embers of patriotic feeling, and exerting his personal influence, put in motion, by the end of the month, above 5000 troops, attended by a squadron of ships of war, provided with a train of artillery and abundant magazines.

He began by persuading the two cousins Notaras to consent to a truce, and employ against the foreign enemy their mercenary soldiers and the Corinthian militia; then appealing to the Athenian refugees, the latter answered his call by enrolling themselves under the orders of Makriyani. For money and provisions he addressed himself to the Philhellenes, who supplied him with both, and he procured guns and ammunition from the arsenals of Nauplia and Methana, and the superfluous stores on board the Hellas.

In the preceding December, Colonel Bourbacki, a Cefalonian, who had spent most of his life in the French service, and acquired distinction as commander of a regiment of light cavalry, came to Greece after an absence of many years, and being furnished by Heydeck with a sum of 3000 dollars, raised a corps of 800 men at Napoli, and marched at their head to join Karaiskaki. Being overtaken, however, at the isthmus, by dispatches from government, begging him to change the direction of his march, he retrograded upon Megara. In proceeding to Athens, Fabvier left at Methana and Damala his cavalry, a detachment of gunners, and his third battalion, composed of recruits; by the terms of

their enlistment, these soldiers were only bound to obey him, but they all readly volunteered to assist in delivering their chief and their comrades blocked up in the castle. As the horses were in a deplorable condition for want of forage, the cavalry (excepting a small picket of lancers) served on foot.

John Notaras had in pay 1000 choice Roumeliotes, and as his cousin Panaighy led into the field 1200 Corinthians, a respectable force was thus brought together.

The affair of Khaidari having demonstrated how little chance there was of Greeks being able to beat Kutahi in a general action, the European officers, consulted by Zaimis, gave it as their opinion, that the only way of raising the siege was to cut off his communications, and act in his rear with a combined military and naval force; but the government had a project of its own for seizing the Piræus, and would hear of nothing else. According to this plan, as much opposed to the rules of strategy as the dictates of good sense, the army was divided into two bodies, Bourbacki, Vasso, and Panaighy Notaras, being instructed to assail the enemy from Eleusis, while the corps of John Notaras, that of Makriyani, the regulars, and foreign auxiliaries, should land at port Phalerus, under the nose of Reshid Pasha; the latter delicate operation the Executive committed to a Philhellene, who received the temporary rank of brigadier. Captain Hastings commanded, as commodore, the naval part of the expedition, consisting of the Karteria steam corvette, carrying eight sixty-four pounders, one Psarrian brig of sixteen, and another of twelve guns, five armed launches, and a mistik. To the brigade were attached five heavy cannon, (eighteen and twelve pounders,) four six, and six three pounders, directed by two German officers of artillery, and served by a company of twenty-five Philhellenes, the gunners

of the regular corps, and fifty Psarrian bruloteers; Count Porro performed with his usual assiduity the functions of intendant-general to the army of Attica. Every preparation being completed by the 2d of February, Vasso, Bourbacki, and Panaighy Notaras, assembled their troops at Eleusis; at the same time, those intended for Piræus passed from Megara into the isle of Salamis, where the ovens, depots, hospital, and magazines were established; the shipping congregated in the roadstead of Ambelaki.

On the 3d, the division of Eleusis, making a reconnoissance, attacked the enemy's advanced posts at the village of Menidi, but being unable to storm a church which the Turks had fortified, retired to Kasha; Kutahi, coming up with 300 horsemen to support his infantry, was deterred from charging by the firm countenance of Bourbacki's regiment. On the afternoon of the 5th, the brigade in Salamis, amounting to 2300 men, and including 400 bayonets, went on board the ships of war, and eighteen smaller vessels, carrying with them intrenching tools, gabions, fascines, and rations for ten days, sailed at nine o'clock, and the weather being propitious, cast anchor before the Phalerus at midnight. Every appearance of bustle in the harbour of Ambelaki, was distinctly visible to the Turks on the mainland; and Reshid Pasha, by placing a few troops on the heights, might easily have prevented a landing; but he was content to keep a garrison of 200 Ghegs in the monastery of Piræus, his attention being engrossed by the movements of the Greeks on the side of Mount Parnes.

Makriyani, and Captain George Kheliotis, rowing ashore with a vanguard of 400 Pallikars, after a slight musketry fire, occupied the high ground called Castello, because the citadel of Phalerus formerly stood there. The whole brigade disembarked in an hour, and before

day broke threw up intrenchments along the front, and established a battery of five guns on the right of the position. When the sun rose, the garrison of the Acropolis hailed the presence of their friends by a feu de joie from the ramparts.

As the possession of the convent of St Spiridion would have been an essential advantage, Commodore Hastings entered the Piræus in his steamer, battered it with great fury, and made a practicable breach in the sea face; 500 Greeks then stormed under the command of Notaras, but the Ghegs, although suffering severely from the eight-inch shells of the Karteria, repulsed them by a heavy fire of musketry; two Bavarians, Lieutenant Schneizlein and a sergeant of artillery, were wounded on this occasion. In the afternoon, Reshid Pasha reconnoitred the insurgents at the head of a party of cavalry; and on the same day, the division of Eleusis, falling little short of 3500 men, advanced to Kamatero (near Khaidary) at the edge of the plain of Athens. Next morning Hastings renewed his cannonade against the monastery, until his projectiles being nearly expended, the approach of Kutahi, with a column of horse and foot, and two pieces of artillery, each drawn by eight horses, which came down at full gallop and opened on the Karteria, obliged him to quit the Piræus. The Serasker visited the convent, placed guns in it, and posted 300 of his infantry on a rocky eminence,* half a mile from the head of the port, where they intrenched themselves. If he may be taxed with negligence in allowing the Greeks to land, he repaired that fault by the prudence of his defensive arrangements, and the vigour with which he availed himself of their error in dividing their forces, and stationing

* It was to this hill that Pausanias, King of Sparta, retreated after an action with Thrasybulus, in the first year of the ninety-fourth *Olympiad*.

themselves on the extreme points of a long line with the Turks between them. The chiefs at Kamatero, enjoying equal authority, were soon at variance; Vasso, who perfectly understood partisan warfare, proposing to harass the enemy and avoid an action, while the impetuous Bourbacki insisted upon fighting a battle. Full of courage and frankness, he could not be convinced that the men he had recruited in the taverns of Napoli did not resemble French soldiers, and slighted the warnings of certain persons, who, having more experience of Greek character, begged him not to rely too much on the spirit of his troops, or the honesty of his colleagues. He would not even remain on the crest of the hills, but led his own corps into the plain, leaving Vasso and Notaras behind him. Reshid Pasha watching his opportunity, and amusing the insurgents at Phalerus by skirmishes, attacked Kamatero (February the 8th) with 2000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and two howitzers. After a short though sharp dispute, the van of the Greeks was routed, and their main body flying in confusion, only rallied in the isle of Salamis. They lost 500 men, Bourbacki was slain with two brave French officers and a surgeon of his suite, and the Turks immediately occupying Eleusis, pushed their parties to Megara.

They might on the following day have assailed the Phalerus with a prospect of success, since bad weather and other causes had hindered the brigade there from disembarking the principal portion of its stores and ordnance, and the position was infinitely too extensive for the numbers that guarded it. However, the Roumeli Valesi, with a slowness belonging rather to the nation than the individual, afforded them two days' respite, during which they dragged the whole of their guns up the rocks, and raised two additional batteries on the centre and left of the plateau. Meanwhile

the Serasker offered terms to the garrison of the Acropolis, flattering himself that the issue of the late battle would induce it to capitulate; but in this he was disappointed. On the evening of the 10th he descended to Piræus with the bulk of his army, amounting to about 4000 men, and made his dispositions for an attack; the Greeks were prepared to receive him, and, in order to secure their left, the weakest part of the position, it was settled that the corvette should enter Piræus, one brig of war station herself at the mouth of the old harbour of Munychia, sweeping with her broadsides the neck of the peninsula, and the other lie off the extreme promontory. The Athenians held the right of the position, which is almost inaccessible, Notaras the centre, the dismounted cavalry and a company commanded by Demetrius Kalerji the left, three companies of regular infantry formed a reserve, and all boats being removed from the beach, flight was impossible. On the morning of the 11th the Turks, supported by a cannonade from six guns, attacked with resolution, and persevered in their efforts for five hours, under a shower of round and grape shot from the shipping and the batteries, (forty pieces of artillery crossing their fire in the enemy's ranks,) as well as of musketry from the trenches; they were every where repulsed, and two charges, executed by the regular battalion and 250 picked men of Makriyani's corps, decided their defeat: of course the insurgents could not pursue, having no horse to oppose to the Ottoman cavalry. It is probable that the Mussulmans lost from 300 to 400 killed and wounded, the Christians sixty or seventy. During the engagement on shore the Karteria was considerably damaged by five-inch shells from the monastery. In the combat of February 11th, which did honour to the troops of both nations, several of Kutahi's best officers fell, and he desisted from any further

attempt to storm the Phalerus, but applied himself to straitening the Greeks by erecting redoubts round the convent, the ancient theatre, and the roots of the hill, cutting them off from the river Ilissus, which flows into the sea to the right of the position. A good deal of blood was spilt in daily cannonades and smart affairs of outposts. As the only potable water on Phalerus was drawn from a source half-way down the descent, and exposed to the fire of the Turks, to remedy that inconvenience, Demetrius Kalerji occupied with a few hundred men three country houses, built like towers, near the mouth of the Ilissus, demolished the upper stories, barricaded the lower ones, and pierced the walls with loopholes. Reshid Pasha not choosing to permit his foes to set foot in the plain, assailed them on the 4th of March with all his disposable force, and sacrificed in vain a number of lives. Repeated onsets having failed, he in the evening brought up two howitzers, which annoyed the insurgents so much, that in the night they fell back to Castello, bearing away with them a Turkish standard and thirty-five heads of the enemy's slain. The Serasker then placed a battery at the river's mouth, which, crossing its range with another on the point of Munychia, played upon vessels endeavouring to gain the port of Phalerus; whence it resulted, that in stormy weather the Greek troops were sometimes two days without bread, and had only brackish water to drink.

When the president and members of the Executive perceived the inutility of their plan for relieving Athens, they reverted to the idea originally suggested to them of impeding the transmission of supplies from Thessaly and Eubœa. Miaulis was ordered to proceed to the gulf of Eretria, with the Hellas, the Karteria, and a Psarrian brig; and Colonel Heydeck accompanied him as director and superintendent of the expedition.

Taking on board 500 soldiers, who, since the rout of Kamatero, were living idly in Salamis, they appeared (March the 10th) before Oropos, where they found two brigs at anchor, one fully, the other half loaded with grain for Kutahi's camp. Captain Hastings having cut them out, and silenced a battery of three guns, the troops and 100 seamen from the frigate were put on shore next morning; but, after an insignificant rencounter, it became evident that they had no chance of taking Oropos, which was surrounded with tambourias, and contained a garrison equal in strength to the detachment; they therefore reimbarked the men, and sailed with their prizes to Poros.

About the same period, Coletti cruised to the north of Eubœa, and again landed a party of Olympians at Talanta; a Hydriote brig that attended him fought and beat off a large brig-of-war belonging to Omer Pasha, and for a month he interrupted the navigation betwixt Volo and Negropont, until want of money to pay his shipping forced him to leave the coast. Kara Tasso and the Olympians, instead of seizing the Straits of Thermopylæ, went with their flotilla to levy contributions upon Thasos. All these unconnected operations disquieted Reshid Pasha, but were not serious enough to make him retire from Athens; and the sole hope of saving the Acropolis seemed to depend upon Karaiskaki's approach. Omer Pasha's flight, and the recapture of Salona, having left him at liberty to comply with the Executive's entreaties, he turned his face towards Attica, and on the 11th of March arrived at Eleusis, which the enemy had abandoned after burning the hutted camp there, and choking the wells with stones. He had not above 1000 men with him, having disseminated most of his bands around Messalonghi and Livadia; but he was immediately joined from Koliyouri *by* Vasso and Panaighy Notaras, whose accession almost

tripled his numbers. On the night of the 14th he moved again, (part of his troops going by land and part in boats,) and early next morning took post at Keratsina, on the Strait of Salamis, three miles to the west of the Piræus. Before he had time to intrench himself, a body of Turks advanced and engaged; a skirmish which terminated in favour of the Greeks. With Karaiskaki was a squadron of irregular cavalry, and he lost not a moment in sending for Fabvier's chasseurs and lancers from the camp of Phalerus, and mounting them on spare horses captured in the interior. On the 16th, Reshid marched in person, with all his cavalry, two columns of infantry, and several pieces of cannon, intending to drive the insurgents into the sea. He first endeavoured to dislodge them from a farmhouse and enclosure in front of Keratsina, where Karaiskaki had posted 200 picked men, promising them a gratuity of 9000 piastres if they maintained their ground. Placing the guns within musket-shot, he breached the building, and ordered his foot soldiers to storm it; but the attack did not succeed, and the Greek cavalry bravely charging that of the Turks, the Serasker met with a bloody check.* He then remained on the defensive, and gradually stripping his redoubts at Piræus of their artillery, transported it to new works he threw up upon Mount Corydallus, towards his extreme right. Although occupying with few troops an immense space of ground, he kept unbroken his chain of posts from Athens to the sea, and for five weeks precluded any land communication between the Greek camps of Phalerus and Keratsina. Once more it was proposed at Egina to send an expedition into Kutahi's rear, and the preparations were in a state of forwardness, when the

* To make his horsemen appear more numerous, he drew up behind them a line of servants, riding on baggage mules: in the pursuit many of these pretended Delhys were cut down.

arrival of Lord Cochrane and General Church caused every project to be suspended until they should assume their respective commands, and make their own dispositions.

SECTION II.

THE squabbles of the conflicting factions at Egina and Hermione, and Cochrane's determination to live secluded in his yacht until they came to better understanding, occasioned much valuable time to be wasted; but after the assembly at Damala had commenced its sittings, and the Admiral and Generalissimo been sworn into their functions, they tried, by redoubled activity, to compensate for previous delay. Every moment was precious, since Ibrahim was beginning to move, and intelligence from the Dardanelles announced that the Ottoman fleet was on the point of sailing. Cochrane's name filled the Greek seamen with ardour; the gallant old Miaulis, whose heart was incapable of harbouring any selfish feeling, cheerfully served as a captain under him; and had his Lordship steered for the Hellespont, with his frigate, the steamer, and thirty or forty of the best armed vessels and fire-ships, he might perhaps have given a good account of the Sultan's navy. It is therefore to be regretted that, in consequence of assistance received from the Paris committee, he conceived himself bound in honour to fly to Fabvier's relief. In Attica, his presence was not only useless, but prejudicial, because he interfered more than he ought to have done with the General's arrangements. As he as well as Church, unacquainted with the country and the language, could not form a correct judgment on the innumerable reports transmitted to them, it is not surprising that both were deceived by letters written from the Acropolis, and intrusted to soldiers, who, disguised as Turks or Alba-

nians, slipped from time to time through the enemy's lines. In these epistles, Fabvier and the other chiefs painted their situation in the blackest colours, carefully concealing the fact of their having provisions for many months.

Nothing was thought or spoken of but Kutahi's certain discomfiture, all the resources of Greece being directed towards Athens. Besides the troops of Karaiskaki and those of Phalerus, 3000 men marched from the Morea, under Gennaios Colocotroni, Chrysanthos Sisini, the brothers Petimeza, &c. Cochrane took into pay 1000 Hydriotes (giving the command of them to his relation Major Urquhart), and 200 Cretans, collected by Demetrius Kalerji at Naxo: a corps of Roumeliotes assembled at Poros for the expedition to the Gulf of Eretria, was likewise sent off in boats to Salamis. Altogether the land forces amounted to 10,000, amply supplied with heavy guns, fieldpieces, powder, lead, corn, and flour. Money alone was scarce, for Lord Cochrane's chest contained but L.20,000, and, having to provide for the wants of both services, it was fast leaking. Having hired a fine schooner for his own accommodation, and that of his suite, Church sailed on the 17th to Megara, accompanied by two British officers, in quality of aides-de-camp, and his secretary, Mr Lee: on the same day Cochrane stood out of Poros in the Hellas, and was joined off Egina by a dozen brigs and schooners of Hydra and Spezzia.

Captain Hastings was ordered to proceed with a detached squadron to the Gulf of Volo, to impede the enemy's communications. After conferring with Karaiskaki, and reviewing the Peloponnesian troops at Megara, the Generalissimo went to Salamis, which was full of soldiery, and took measures for ferrying them over to the mainland. His reception there gave him a foretaste of the difficulties of his position. Supposing his

purse to be well lined, the Pallikars expected a liberal donative, and when they found themselves disappointed, mutinied, and refused to embark: at length, however, the influence of their most popular captains induced them to cross the strait. Urquhart's ten companies of Hydriotes landed at Phalerus on the 20th, and from the afternoon of that day to the 25th, continual skirmishes occurred at the outposts, which were strangely mixed together; the third regular battalion, and Makriyani's Athenians, having advanced their tambourias, garnished with some fieldpieces, to the skirts of the olive wood: the Turks, inferior in number, nevertheless repulsed the insurgents both on the right and left. Contradictory orders and unconnected attacks indicated that the Greek army was infected with a spirit of insubordination, and that its leaders did not agree in their plans. On the 25th of April, five brigs and schooners anchoring at the mouth of the Piræus, a party of Spezziotes disembarked near the tomb of Themistocles, and being supported by the fire of two armed launches, engaged a small body of Turks from the neighbouring redoubts. Reinforcements came up, and the affair waxing warm, Cochrane, who was on shore reconnoitring with only a spy-glass in his hand, seized the favourable instant, put himself at the head of John Colocotroni's troops, and cheered them forwards. The batteries of Phalerus opened upon the convent of St Spiridion, and the Greeks charging in mass from that side, and from Keratsina, in half an hour carried nine redoubts, chasing the Moslems into the monastery. This success was chiefly due to Cochrane's presence of mind; but the circumstance of Kutahi's having removed every gun from the convent, and the adjacent tambourias, also contributed to it.

The Greek line now extended along the shore from the summit of Phalerus to Mount Corydallus, and the

monastery was closely invested: Karaiskaki pitched his tent in the centre, at the old arsenal of Piræus, and the squadron entered that basin. Miaulis, warping in the frigate on the 26th, cannonaded St Spiridion, while the land forces assaulted it; but the garrison, composed of Arnauts and Ghegs, defended the walls with admirable resolution.

Reshid Pasha concentrated most of his troops round the Acropolis, though his advanced posts still retained the intrenchments at the mouth of the Ilissus, and a height to the north-west of Piræus, where he placed four guns; a party of his Albanians perched themselves on one of the conical tops of Corydallus, whence they were dislodged, Karaiskaki sending a detachment with two three-pounders to occupy a peak directly above them.

On the night of the 26th, the two Beys commanding in the convent, applied for a suspension of arms, which being acceded to, they treated with Lord Cochrane; as he would only grant their lives, and they insisted on rejoining the Serasker, the negotiation proved fruitless, and they perfidiously violated the armistice, by assassinating a Greek sent to them with overtures by Major Urquhart: they subsequently fired upon the boat of his Lordship's yacht, in which his secretary was carring a flag of truce and a written summons. About thirty Chimarriote Christians, forming part of the garrison, found opportunities of deserting to the insurgents. At noon, on the 27th, the cannonade recommenced from the frigate, the Phalerus, and a battery of twelve-pounders, landed by the Hydriote brigs, and placed within musket-shot of St Spiridion. As the Greeks could not be persuaded to point low enough, the balls from the latter flew over the building, and did execution among the Athenians, in the plain beyond it: the frigate's thirty-two pound shot

completely beat down the upper story of the monastery, but left the lower walls untouched, and the Albanians sheltered by vaults suffered little. From the opposite hill, the Turks threw shells at the shipping without effect, the range being too great for their howitzers.

All this noise, waste of ammunition, and loss of lives in the previous assault, was worse than useless, for the Moslems having neither bread nor water, it needed but a short blockade to reduce them, and as for the chance of Kutahi's relieving them, nothing was more desirable than that he should attempt it, since a defeat would have utterly undone him. His soldiers murmured, and threatened to force him to raise the siege; he had very little provision, and indeed thought his own position almost desperate. Lord Cochrane's impatience saved him, by hurrying General Church into the most absurd and ill-timed measures. In vain was it represented to his Lordship, that the Pallikars were only fit for a war of posts, and would only fight in their own way; he had set his heart upon marching into the Acropolis, hours seemed to him weeks, and days years: he reproached the Hellenic chiefs with cowardice, and declared, that if something decisive was not immediately done, he would withdraw with the Hydriotes and naval portion of the expedition. Karaiskaki, offended at the tone assumed towards him, positively refused to advance a step until the monastery had surrendered, while Cochrane objected to granting a capitulation, (which in fact the garrison was not entitled to,) and urged that it should be stormed, and the barbarians within put to the sword. Pressed by his fiery colleague, doubting the success of an assault, and sensible that it would be imprudent to leave an enemy in his rear, Church resolved to come to a composition with the Arnauts, and authorized Karaiskaki to nego-

tiate with them: however, the soldiers exclaimed that they would not permit a single Turk to go forth with his weapons or girdle.

Although the Infidels had just given two examples of bad faith, yet seeing themselves abandoned to their fate by the Serasker, they consented to evacuate the convent, on condition of being conducted to his outposts with arms and baggage. Karaiskaki, Tzavella, Vasso, and other officers, offered their own persons as security for the due fulfilment of the terms, and at noon on the 28th, the Albanians delivering up their standards, marched out, having these hostages in the midst of them. Their lives might have been preserved by surrounding them with cavalry, and ordering back to their tambourias the Greek soldiers, who were flocking to a road along which the garrison had to defile; Cochrane, foreboding mischief, drew off the Hydriotes, but Church, unaware of the exasperation of his army, and supposing that every thing would pass according to European usages of war, took no precautions, and was not even present at the evacuation. Hardly had the column entered upon the marshy ground behind Piræus, when a single pistol-shot was followed by a close rolling fire from several thousand Greeks, while from the height in front, the Turks, who had observed and respected the truce, threw shells at random among the multitude. In an instant 200 Albanians were cut to pieces, about seventy escaping to their friends on the hill. Karaiskaki strove at the hazard of his own life to stop the slaughter, and when he perceived it was to no purpose, cried to the Moslems, "Forgive me, as I forgive you; I can do nothing more for you."

The slain were immediately stripped, and the infuriated Pallikars fought with each other for their spoils. To this disgraceful massacre ensuing disasters may be ascribed, as it gave rise to innumerable disputes and

recriminations. Church, horror-struck, talked of resigning the command, but altered his mind at the solicitation of the Moreote captains, who unanimously accused John Notaras; and the latter, although innocent, was made a scapegoat on account of his enmity to Colocotroni, and subjected to a short arrest. The impunity of the true authors of this crime encouraged insubordination, and shook the popularity of the Generalissimo, who for the most part remained on board a schooner, and did not sufficiently exhibit himself to the troops; he was fond of employing his pen, and had not been long enough in Greece to discover, that written orders and dispositions, however ably concocted, are of no avail to the leader of an irregular army: upon further acquaintance with the country, he rectified that error, and endeared himself to the soldiery.

Kutahi's first line of defence being overthrown, surely 10,000 Greeks might have forced his second line, and reduced him to the alternative of starving, retreating, or venturing a battle under disadvantageous circumstances. His advanced posts on the Ilissus, and in front of Piræus, were so ill supported, that they might have been swept away any morning by a brisk attack before he had time to come to their assistance; and this would have enabled the insurgents to penetrate into the olive grove, where the Ottoman horse could not act with effect. But the Admiral's eagerness to dine in the Acropolis overruled sober deliberation, and substituted an insane scheme of landing a division at Cape Colias, pushing it up to Athens, charging the garrison, and bringing away the families shut up in the citadel. Whilst Karaiskaki lived, he combated this project, pointing out the necessity of first dislodging the Turks from the river's mouth, where they had two or three miserable tambourias without a gun, and defended by a handful of men: to his private friends he frequently

disclosed an apprehension, that the rashness of the Franks would produce some signal calamity. As he was an excellent judge of the qualities of his countrymen, his opinion ought to have been conclusive. In the beginning of May, Lord Cochrane brought from Poros four sixty-eight pound carronades, intending with them to batter the enemy's redoubts, directed his squadron to make demonstrations on the coast towards the promontory of Sunium, and 3000 men to be mustered for embarkation; but he could never get the seamen to land the carronades, and the Greek chiefs eluded under various pretexts the order to embark. One of Fabvier's officers came out of the castle with letters and intelligence that 500 of the Sultan's regular infantry had joined Reshid Pasha from Negropont.

The insurgents slowly gained ground in the plain, and had nearly isolated the tambourias at the river's mouth, which seemed the sole obstacle to a forward movement; why they were not already stormed, does not admit of an easy explanation.

On the afternoon of the 4th, a few Cretans and Hydriotes, having drank freely, went of their own accord to attack them, and most of the right wing followed in confusion. The Turks were giving way, and two Hydriote captains brandished their swords on the parapet of a redoubt, when a party of Delhys, issuing from the olive wood on the assailants' flank, defeated and drove them back to Phalerus, with the loss of 100 men. Karaiskaki was sick; but, on hearing the fire, he started from his bed, and, riding to the spot, endeavoured to rally the fugitives. While he was covering their retreat, a Turkish horseman shot him in the belly with a rifle carbine, and, being carried on board Church's schooner, he died next day. Nikitas was wounded in the face, and a brave English volunteer, (Captain Whitcomb, of the East India Company's

artillery,) received a very dangerous hurt, being struck on the shoulder by a three-pound ball.

Karaiskaki was one of the most distinguished Armatolic captains, possessing great acuteness, and uncommon intrepidity, which, in unison with military eloquence, and a fund of humour, gained the hearts of the Roumeliotes. Morality sat loosely upon him; and in 1824, his conduct at Messalonghi and in Agrafa was disgraceful; but latterly he mended his manners, and did many things to conciliate the people, affecting to shun the examples of Odysseus and Ghouras; at the same time he was playing an underhand game, and, in concert with Coletti, weaving a tissue of deep intrigues, which might enable them both to climb to the topmost rounds of the ladder of Greek politics. He disliked Franks,* looked with an evil eye upon Cochrane and Church, and yet avoided offence; giving them, on the contrary, sound advice, which they had done well to listen to; but it is probable, that, with the deliverance of Athens, his complaisance would have ceased. In his last moments he spoke coolly and wisely to the assembled chiefs, exhorted them to fight vigorously for their native land, and prescribed the ceremonies of his own funeral, desiring to be buried in a certain church of Salamis. He left little property, having spent his money in largesses during the campaign.

The worst consequence of his death was, that no one remained of sufficient weight to oppose Cochrane's fatal project; and the officers designated for its execution consulting together, resolved that, however extravagant it appeared, it would be for their honour to proceed.

* To a captain who was assisting to bear him off the field, he said, "Get me a surgeon; but I pray you let no Frank doctor come near *me*."

On the evening of the 5th, the regular battalion, Philhellenes, Souliotes, Cretans with the corps of John and Panaghy Notaras, Makriyani, Vasso, and Michael Gramzi, went on board the squadron, and crossed the bay to Cape Colias, where they disembarked at midnight, to the number of 2500 men. If the plan deserves the severest censure, what shall we say to the pitiful method in which it was executed? As the Admiral had nothing to do with the motions of the troops when once ashore, and the General, satisfied with having sketched a disposition, staid in his vessel till daylight, the captains, all on a footing of equality, acted independently, halting where they chose; so that the column was scattered over a space of four miles, the front within cannon-shot of Athens, the rear close to the sea, and the soldiers, unprovided with spades and pickaxes, dug the earth with their daggers, in order to cover themselves from the charge of horse. Two squadrons of Greek cavalry, under Colonel Almeyda and Hadji Mitkhali, lay forgotten near Piræus. When the sun rose, Reshid Pasha, drawing up his infantry on the Musæum, and before the temple of Olympian Jupiter, opened a fire from a howitzer, which the regular battalion answered with two three-pounders; while 600 horsemen, filing off through hollow ground, turned unperceived the right flank of the insurgents. At the eighteenth discharge of their howitzer, the Turks sang in chorus a loud prayer; at the twentieth round, the Delhys rushed full speed upon the head of the division, composed of Souliotes, regulars, and Philhellenes, who stood the shock without flinching. The struggle was finished as soon as begun, for the Christians had scarcely time to fire two volleys ere they were hewn down by the enemy's sabres. Those in the rear did not attempt resistance, but fled towards the sea, closely pursued by troopers and Alba-

nians; few of the latter were able to come up with them, but the cavalry made a dreadful slaughter. General Church, advancing from the beach, was in imminent danger, (the foremost Delhys actually passing him), as well as Lord Cochrane, who had just landed to congratulate him on their success:* both saved themselves by wading up to the neck to reach the boats, which then shoved off, leaving 1000 men on shore, stretching out their hands to the vessels. An hundred and fifty plunging into the sea, were drowned, and fear had so unmanned the rest, that they rolled on the sand moaning and weeping: at length, Nicholas Zervas, a Souliote, and the only person who showed firmness, by dint of exhortation got them into some kind of order. However, the Turks might easily have butchered them all, if they had not been in haste to return to the town and celebrate their victory. In the evening, boats sent under the protection of two schooners, transported this remnant to Phalerus. While the right wing was thus entirely discomfited, on the centre and left 7000 men, commanded by Kizzo Tzavella, tamely looked on, without stirring an inch, or making the least demonstration. But although they took no part in the combat, they shared in the rout, for the whole left wing of Moreotes quitted their position, and started for the Isthmus with such precipitation, that a few of the enemy, who were grinding corn at a mill, pursued and killed many. The posts and artillery around Piræus were likewise abandoned without being attacked: fifteen Moslems entered the monastery, and might have kept possession of it, but not receiving support, voluntarily retired. After sunset, a body of Turks ventured to assault Phalerus, and had very nearly carried it; they were already half way up the hill, the Pallikars flying before them, when

* A short note, written that morning to the general by his lordship, proved how confident he felt of victory.

Major Urquhart, at the head of his Hydriotes, stopped their progress. In short, however complete the triumph of the Mohammedans, it depended on themselves to render it much more so. Never had Greece sustained so bloody and disastrous a defeat: it cost at the lowest reckoning 1500 of her choicest warriors, nine pieces of cannon, numerous standards, and the fruits of a four months' campaign. Almost all the Souliotes and the bravest Cretans were exterminated; of twenty-six Europeans closely engaged in the battle but four escaped, and only twenty of the regular battalion. John Notaras, (run through the body with a lance in his flight,) Lambro Veikos, George Tzavella, Fotos Fotomarra, and the chef-de-bataillon Inglesi, were slain outright; Demetrius Kalerji and George Drakos taken, the former having his leg broken by a pistol-ball. Drakos being reserved in chains, with a view of sending him to Constantinople, soon afterwards stabbed himself mortally with a small knife; Kalerji, rescued from Kutahi's fury by the Turkish officer who seized him, was restored to his friends on payment of a ransom of 5000 dollars.* He had assisted two days before at the funeral of his brother Emanuel, who died at Ambelaki in consequence of an old contusion. All the other prisoners, amounting to 240, were ranged in a line and beheaded.

The Mussulmans did not lose many men; but the Bey who led on their cavalry was killed, and Reshid Pasha himself slightly wounded in the hand. After the bat-

* Wishing to examine Kalerji, the Serasker caused him to be brought into his presence on a man's back, and, after asking some questions, said, "Behold the power of God! I thought myself lost, and, lo! Providence has delivered you into my hand!" He then ordered his decapitation; but the officer who took him, appealing to his comrades, and raising a commotion, Reshid consented to spare his life, and, instead of his neck, commanded one of his ears to be slit.

tle of May the 6th, Lord Cochrane went with his squadron to Hydra, and most of the Greek troops dispersed. Church occupied the Phalerus with 2000 men for three weeks longer, until his soldiers, suffering from heat and thirst, refused to remain on that bare hill. Dismantling the batteries, and throwing their heavy cannon into a well, they embarked on the night of the 27th; John Colocotroni and Nikitas, who were the last to step into the boats, covering the retreat, and exchanging a musketry fire with the van of the Turks. Next morning, Kutahi rode to the summit of the position, whence he contemplated with inward satisfaction the sails of his departing foes.

We have mentioned above, that when Cochrane resolved to go in person to Attica, he detached Captain Hastings towards the Pelasgic Gulf, with a squadron, consisting of the Karteria, the corvette Themistocles, carrying eighteen guns, Miaulis's twenty-gun brig the Mars, and two fine schooners. Looking into Volo, (April the 20th), and seeing eight Ottoman two-masted craft at anchor, Hastings directed the corvette and brig to engage the batteries on the point, which they did with spirit, while he, pushing into the harbour, boarded, and cut out five vessels laden with grain for the Serasker's camp, burned two, and drove the eighth ashore; then, sending his prizes in charge of a schooner to Poros, he proceeded to Trikeri, where was moored a Turkish brig-of-war, mounting fourteen brass twenty-four pounders, two small mortars, and protected by shoals, a battery, and a body of Albanians, posted on an eminence above the mouth of the port. At midnight of the 22d, he made an attempt upon her, but was repulsed, chiefly by the enemy's musketry; on the 23d he renewed his attack, and, perceiving it would be impossible to cut out the brig, set fire to and blew her up with red-hot shot. In the whole cruise,

which very much augmented the esteem the Greeks entertained for him, he had only two men slain (one of them an Englishman) and four wounded.

It is our conviction, that if, instead of butting against the Roumeli Valesi's front, Cochrane and Church had operated with the shipping and one half of the army in the channel of Eubœa, leaving Karaiskaki intrenched at Piræus with the other half, they would have raised the siege of Athens. After the evacuation of Phalerus the Acropolis immediately surrendered, General Church having written to the garrison to capitulate, and requested Captain Le Blanc, of the French frigate Junon, to obtain terms for them. The besieged availed themselves of this inconsiderate step of the Generalissimo with an eagerness that did not redound to their honour. The troops of Eastern Greece had boasted that they would emulate the heroes of Messalonghi; but when put to the proof, their performance fell as far short as their hardships and danger were less. It cannot be denied that they had endured distress from cold, sickness, want of medicine, fuel, and clothing; but the summer season was now set in, water, although rather scarce, was not likely to fail them, and their granary still contained barley enough for six months of full rations. Fabvier's presence in the fort rather hastened than retarded its fall; for, however superior Europeans may be in other branches of the art of war, in defending places they must yield the palm of tenacity to Orientals, and, had only Greeks been in the castle, it would perhaps have held out until after the battle of Navarin. Conspicuous for valour in the field, and jealous to excess of any competitor, Fabvier bore impatiently confinement within walls, and a knowledge of Church's appointment to the supreme command goaded him into ungovernable rage. He conceived that he had been entrapped in order to make way for this Englishman,

asserting (correctly we believe) that the Executive gave private instructions to Griziotti not to let him go forth again at the head of his battalions; when he once or twice wished to attempt a sortie, and break through the enemy, his design was frustrated by the rest of the garrison preparing to follow, and leave the fortress empty. Hence arose irritation and despondency; the letters of the besieged were querulous and drooping, and they did nothing to contribute to their own liberation, when the main body of the Turks was repeatedly engaged with the insurgents at Kamatero, Phalerus, or Keratsina. While Church kept possession of Phalerus, shame prevented them from acceding to Monsieur Le Blanc's first overtures, but as soon as his camp disappeared from thence, they became anxious to treat for a surrender. The Piedmontese Major Roccavilla stole out of the citadel, and, getting on board a passing vessel, repaired to Egina, to make known to the European squadrons the garrison's desire of obtaining terms. Major Cornero, commanding the Austrian brig-of-war Veneto, proffered his mediation, which the besieged did not absolutely reject; at the same time expressing a wish that ships belonging to the other neutral powers should be present. In consequence, Admiral de Rigny arrived, took the business in hand, and spent three days at the Serasker's head-quarters. The negotiation was clogged by many difficulties, the Greeks insisting on liberty to depart with arms and baggage, and Reshid refusing to grant that favour to any save the chiefs and their personal attendants; he pretended, besides, that the native Athenians ought not to be included in the negotiation. The treaty was broken off, when the Pasha suddenly changed his mind, and assented to all that was asked, because he had information that Ibrahim was coming to rob him of the honour of finishing the siege, as he had done at Messalonghi.

After hostages had been exchanged, and the Mussulman prisoners in the fortress given up, the garrison, supplied by Kutahi with seventy-five horses to carry their baggage, marched out, (June the 5th,) having seven Beys in the centre, and Monsieur de Rigny and his officers riding at the head of the column. The Roumeli Valesi had withdrawn all his posts betwixt the town and Cape Colias, he hovered about, followed by a body of cavalry to guard against treachery, and cut down with his own hand two refractory Arnauts, who were egging on their countrymen to fall upon the infidels. It was so difficult for the insurgents to persuade themselves that a Turk would observe his word, that, in the midst of the evacuation, a part of them halted, proposing to shut the gate, and were only induced to proceed by Colonel Fabvier's threatening to fire upon them: Leckas, pricked by his conscience for the prominent share he took in the massacre of July 1822, as soon as he was outside, clapped spurs to his horse, and galloped to the beach. Above 2000 persons, 500 of whom were women, issued from the castle, and, embarking in French and Austrian vessels, landed in Salamis, whence they passed in small craft to Egina or Poros. Thus did Athens revert to Ottoman dominion, after a siege of eleven months, which, with the engagements brought on by attempts to relieve it, probably cost the lives of 3000 Greeks, and as many Turks. Of the troops led in by Fabvier, 400 survived; so that, including those slain at Khaidari, on the 6th of May, &c. upwards of 600 regulars and Philhellenes perished in Attica. The premature surrender of the Acropolis excited much dissatisfaction, and loaded with odium both De Rigny and Fabvier.

Griziotti, Evmorphopoulos, Leckas, and other Greek captains, published a paper, in which they endeavoured to fix blame on the colonel, accusing him of sowing

sedition among their soldiers, and by that means enforcing compliance with his measures. At Poros, the populace wished to stone him; and the government, for his own security and for form's sake, put him under arrest. Fabvier treated with contempt the charges advanced against him, asserting, that his accusers had been as anxious as he to quit the fortress: he declined to acknowledge General Church's authority, and, retiring to Methana, employed himself in re-organizing his corps. Church complained bitterly, that he had been deceived regarding the state of the garrison, and that the French were actuated by national jealousy and pique towards himself. This was partly true; but he of all men had least right to criticise the transaction, since he signed an order directing the besieged to capitulate through Gallic intervention.

CHAP. III.

Narrative of Events connected with Greece, from the Loss of Athens until Capodistria's Arrival at Nauplia.

SECTION I.

THE order of events has now brought us to the darkest period of this history (the space of four months intervening betwixt the surrender of the Acropolis and the battle of Navarin), during which vanquished Greece lay writhing in convulsive throes. In herself there was neither hope nor help, and the question to be solved was merely, whether the Mohammedans would have time to subdue her, before the mediating powers made up their minds to use force. That, if not checked from abroad, the former must speedily overrun the country, did not admit of the least doubt; but it was equally certain that they could not pacify it; for while the rich and timid prepared to emigrate, the poorer and hardier portion of insurgents formed themselves into bands of robbers and pirates, which would long have infested the mountains and the Levant seas, deriding the efforts of the Porte to suppress them. The only branch of the Hellenic confederacy, that still presented a menacing aspect, was the navy under Cochrane, every other department being a heap of confusion. No government existed, since it would be quite beside the purpose seriously to dignify with that name the three puppets set up by the Congress of Damala, two of them being universally decried for immorality, and the third (Nakos) a downright fool, and a laughing-stock to the vulgar.

none ever thought of obeying them, and they sealed their own degradation by carrying on through their secretary, Glarakis, an infamous traffic in selling letters of marque to freebooters. The islanders had suffered little from the enemy, but they were troubled by the Hydriote factions of Condouriotti and Tombazi, exposed to continual requisitions from the fleet, and tormented by swarms of banditti, who annihilated every kind of commerce except that in stolen goods, and made the shores as dangerous as the sea. At Milo, Siphnos, Naxos, &c. the Cretan exiles lorded it over the natives with extreme insolence and rapacity. After the fall of Athens, Roumelia was entirely lost, the Turkish outposts touched the northern declivity of Mount Geranion, and the Armatolic captains either renewed their act of submission to Reshid Pasha, or fled to the Morea. It was not, however, with an intention of defending the peninsula that they retreated into it; their purpose was to seize the fortresses, and thereby be enabled to make a good bargain with the Turks, or any other party that should remain in final possession. Napoli di Romania was already garrisoned by Roumeliotes, and in consequence of a plan concerted and a subscription raised among some chiefs at the camp of Phalerus, Kizzo Tzavella bribed the soldiers left in the Acrocorinthus by John Notaras to give it up to him on payment of their arrears. If we are not much mistaken, the money he spent accrued from the sale of a part of Church's magazines to the infidels! The third Peloponnesian stronghold yet held by the Greeks (Monemvasia) was in the hands of Petro Bey's brother, John Mavromikhali, who, fitting out from thence predatory craft, converted it into a den of thieves.

There was no army, because there was no revenue, and the soldiers found it more profitable to serve on board cruisers, than starve under the national standard.

The land-tax for 1827 had been farmed by the former government for 2,000,000 piastres, but that sum was expended; the customs produced nothing, and a moiety of 15 per cent upon all prizes taken at sea, to which the Executive was lawfully entitled, when paid, stuck to the fingers of the Vice-President and his colleagues. Subsidies of money and provisions still trickled in from Europe and America, though in a diminished stream; most of it was swallowed by the marine, and Church and Fabvier put in their claims for the surplus with a degree of vehemence that rendered Colonel Heydeck's situation at the head of the Commissariat in nowise a bed of roses. Shut up at Methana with 500 regulars, Fabvier protested that he would not receive orders from Church; and to avoid disagreeable collision, the Generalissimo did not give him any. The first was abetted by the members of the Executive who leaned to French influence; the second upheld by the family and clients of Colocotroni, and a party of Roumeliotes friendly to Mavrocordato. An invasion being expected from Attica, Heydeck introduced 70,000 rations into the Acrocorinthus, and Church fixed his head-quarters at the Isthmus, whence he designed to act against the Serasker's communications; but being destitute of funds and magazines, his projects only flourished on paper. At the beginning of July, he, by liberal promises, succeeded in assembling 2000 men, and a flotilla of Psarrian vessels, proposing to occupy the straits of Thermopylæ; however, at the appointed moment of departure, he could not put his expedition in motion, because no dollars were forthcoming for pay and freight: the shipping sailed back to Egina, and most of the soldiers disbanded. Luckily for him, while thus absolutely hors-de-combat, various reasons restrained Kutahi from penetrating into the Morea, which was considered to be the peculiar domain of Ibrahim Pasha. Satisfied with

having reconquered in two campaigns the entire bounds of his own province, the Roumeli Valesi applied himself to settling its internal affairs, and quietly dismissing his Albanian mercenaries, whose turbulence gave him a great deal of annoyance. Placing in the Acropolis a division of regular infantry that joined him soon after its capitulation, he passed a part of the summer at Thebes, and in August went by Larissa to Yannina.

On the 15th of June, two schooners conveyed from Poros to Nauplia the Executive and Legislative commissions: the latter had for its president Dr Renieri, an old deaf Cretan, so little ambitious of the honour thrust upon him, that when, at Trœzene, Colocotroni designated him as a proper person to fill the office, he endeavoured to conceal himself behind a lemon-tree. They arrived exactly in time to assist at, and witness scenes of rapine and bloodshed, which cast into shade all former outrages. Ever since their fracas in the preceding December, Grivas and Fotomarra had come to a tacit agreement to partition the government of the place, each exacting contributions at pleasure, and enforcing payment by the cogent arguments of imprisonment and the bastinade. The ease with which they exercised their brigandage, excited the envy of the Moreote captains, who beheld with regret the fortresses of their peninsula usurped by strangers. Colocotroni, in particular, had always coveted the Palamide, and, favoured as he was by the Generalissimo, resolved to snatch it from the possession of the Roumeliotes. Mustering his trusty adherents at Argos, he struck up a private compact with Fotomarra, who consented to wink at his proceedings, and then tried to bribe an officer of Grivas, by the gift of a pair of pistols, inlaid with gold and jewels. The officer amusing him with professions, disclosed the plot to his own chief; and Grivas, desiring *him* to carry on the deception, prepared a rough recep-

tion for the Moreotes. On the night of June the 9th, John Colocotroni silently entered the lower town, with 250 men, through a small gate, towards the sea, purposely left open by Fotomarra, while Jocriss, captain of Argos, ascended the height of Palamide, and, as he expected, found the exterior portal unbarred. Hardly had his leading files crossed the threshold, when a smart fire of musketry, mingled with a few cannon-shots, showed him that he had fallen into a trap, and being wounded in the hand, he galloped down the hill with all his retainers at his heels. Young Colocotroni, perceiving that his father was outwitted, and having no means of escape, barricaded himself in a large house, and capitulated with Grivas, who, on his signing a bond for 60,000 piastres, permitted him to go to Argos, hissed and hooted by a rabble of boys, ranged on the walls of the citadel, while the Colocotronists were defiling beneath. This abortive attempt covered the old Peloponnesian general with ridicule; and in mockery of him, Grivas ever after wore in his belt the magnificent pistols his rival had been tricked out of. A quarrel that soon ensued among the Roumeliotes themselves, was attended with infinitely worse consequences to the people of Nauplia. George Mavromikhali, and his colleague Milaitis, were rash enough to moot the question of prosecuting Coletti, accusing him of having taken a bribe from the Turks to raise the blockade of Negropont. Coletti did not deny the fact of receiving 35,000 piastres, but pretended he had laid out that sum in paying the Hydriote vessels he had with him. His accusers secured the acquiescence of Grivas, but he was in no want of powerful partisans, Dukas* and Stratos (Fotomarra's lieutenants in Itchkalè) protesting they

* The same Constantine Dukas who commanded a division of Alexander Ypsilanti's army: after his release from Bender, he came to Greece in 1825.

would shed the last drop of their blood in his defence. Some of the Moreote primates artfully fomented the dispute, in hopes of seeing those overbearing soldiers turn their arms against each other. The Roumeliotes being ripe for a conflict, quickly found a pretext in a discussion about the extent of Grivas's right to levy contributions in the town. On the 10th of July, his brother Stavros, trespassing at the head of a detachment on the limits of Fotomarra's jurisdiction, was attacked by Dukas, whereupon the batteries of Palamide opened their fire, and were answered by those of Itchkalè. The roar of cannon and musketry did not cease for nine days, and on the 13th alone more than 220 shot and shells were exchanged. Several houses were demolished, many greatly damaged, all ransacked and rifled by the troops, who robbed the citizens of a vast amount of property: amongst other booty, they pilfered the strong box of old Panouzzos Notaras, containing the dowery of his daughter, betrothed to George Mavromikhali. An hundred and twenty persons lost their lives; and on the 14th, a ball from Palamide, entering the hall of the Legislative body, wounded three senators.

Townshend Washington, the American who made himself notorious by signing General Roche's protest, thinking the conjuncture favourable for an adventurer like him, joined Dukas, and, while pointing a gun, was killed on the 16th by a cannon-shot. As soon as hostilities began, Milaitis and Nakos fled to the Burj, and the vice-president, who remained somewhat longer in the town, at last followed their example, and sought expedients for quenching the flame he had so imprudently kindled; but this was now a difficult task, the fury of the combatants being at its height. Admiral Codrington having come up the gulf on public business, was a reluctant spectator of the commotion, and in vain

exerted his authority to put an end to it: however, he did a service to humanity in obliging the contending parties to suffer the inhabitants to escape into the plain, and to the nearest islands, and sent his boats to aid in bringing them off. Before he interposed, the soldiers kept the gates locked, selling for money permission to go out; but as soon as free egress was granted, the whole population hurried from the town, except the stoical Ypsilanti, who persisted in staying in his house after it was riddled with balls. Messengers being despatched on all sides to summon every person whose influence was supposed likely to conduce to a pacification, Fabvier came from Methana, Captain Hamilton arrived on the 18th, accompanied by Mavrocordato and Trikoupi, whom he had picked up at Poros, and next day Cochrane appeared in the Hellas frigate, with a deputation from Hydra and Spezzia; but in a few hours his lordship departed again, and the presence of Fabvier and Heydeck proved quite useless. Captain Hamilton's interference had a better result; at his request the firing was stopt, and he prevailed upon Fotomarra and Grivas to meet on board the Cambrian, and go through the semblance of a reconciliation. Although all parties were tired of the struggle, there seemed to be no guarantee for the permanence of tranquillity unless the Roumeliote chiefs would resign the forts they held, and therefore the Executive wrote to Church, begging him to repair to the capital, and induce them to do so. He left Corinth on the 23d, followed by a small detachment, and next day lodged himself in a garden near the village of Aria. Both Grivas and his competitors fired salutes in honour of the Generalissimo's arrival, and expressed their perfect readiness to submit themselves to his decision; but the only one whose obedience went beyond words was Fotomarra. Finding that his connivance with Colocotroni had given

umbrage to his soldiers, and that Dukas and Stratos set him at nought, he withdrew to Church's camp, attended by a retinue of fifty men. Three weeks were consumed in sifting propositions and counter-propositions; Stratos once offered to deliver up the Itchkalè to Heydeck, but retracted when the Bavarian colonel talked of garrisoning it with Fabvier's regulars. Grivas and his brothers admitted Church into Palamide, stipulating, however, that he should bring no troops with him, so that the general, after sojourning there two days, rather as a prisoner than a commandant, ashamed of being made a pageant of, returned to his quarters at Aria. Grivas, who had a secret understanding with the families of Condouriotti and Mavromikhali, then shut the gates again, declaring he would not resign the castle until he was paid a million of piastres. When every variety of extraneous mediation had been tried without effect, he and Dukas suddenly adjusted their differences, and became most intimate friends.* The whole of Argolis felt the evils arising from the disorderly state of Napoli: bands of Roumeliotes, scouring the country, plundered the peasants, who, rendered desperate by continual aggression, abandoned their villages, and retiring into savage dells, received the marauders with musket-shots. At Argos the people blocked up the avenues to their town, and fired upon any soldiery that approached. Colocotroni, that arch-anarchist, had latterly no share in the civil war; crestfallen at the issue of his attempt upon Palamide, he marched into the mountains under pretence of opposing Ibrahim, and all those of his faction followed him.

* To the Roumeliotes civil war, and the misery it occasioned, appeared but a pastime: the author has frequently been in company with Grivas and Dukas when they descanted upon these events, *relating* to each other with great glee the incidents of their contest.

By the recital of these troubles we have been insensibly led into the month of August, when some rays of light, harbingers of a brighter day, broke in upon the desponding Greeks, and diverted their minds from dwelling on present woes. The treaty of the 6th of July transpired, and they had not long to wait for a confirmation of it: on the 17th, Sir Edward Codrington and Monsieur de Rigny came in their flag-ships to Nauplia, and in a conference held on board the Asia, and at which assisted the government secretary Glarakis, Mavrocordato, and Zaimis, stated, "that they (the admirals) having authentic information of an alliance being concluded in London by England, France, and Russia, in conformity with its provisions, invited the Greeks to observe a truce." As this intimation was not official, but what in diplomatic phrase is called officious, the Hellenic Executive did not reply in positive terms: acting, nevertheless, on the suggestion of the admirals, it published an address to the nation avowing a knowledge of the treaty's existence, and its conviction that the Allied Powers would propose an armistice; adding, that as Napoli was not a fit place for deliberation, the provisional government was about to transfer its sittings to Egina. In accordance with this resolution, the members of the two councils gladly exchanged their close and hot cage, the Burj, for pure air, and a quiet residence, in the bosom of the Saronic Gulf. At the same time, Church turned back towards Corinth to resume his military duties, at the head of a handful of half-clad and half-famished Pallikars, adhering to him through personal attachment, won by his disinterestedness, amiable manners, and generous temper.

At Egina, a deputation from the admirals, composed of Captains Hamilton and Hugon, and the Russian counsellor of legation Timoni, presented in due form

(September the 2d) that clause of the treaty prescribing a cessation of hostilities, to which the Greeks instantly gave their assent. They indeed had been the first to ask for an armistice, and yet now that one was imposed upon them, many thought it a hardship. To the majority of islanders and Peloponnesians it seemed an anchor of safety; but the Roumeliotes, naturally restless, and wrought upon by Coletti, looked at the question through a different prism: believing themselves on the eve of a definitive arrangement, they were uneasy about the fate reserved to their country, and afraid lest the Turks should remain masters of it. Amongst the loudest to inveigh against the measure were Cochrane, Church, and Fabvier, because they discerned a probability of culling cheap laurels if the war proceeded, and the Porte was embroiled with the three greatest powers of Europe. However, in the sequel, they had no just reason to complain, since, the Sultan having rejected the armistice, it was no longer binding upon the Greeks.

SECTION II.

WITH the vernal breezes Ibrahim recommenced his operations after five months of inactivity, and crossing the Alpheus (April 18th), burst into Elis with 6000 men. The inhabitants sought their usual lurking-places, which, however, did not shelter them; for the Pasha, ordering a squadron of corvettes, brigs, and schooners to coast along abreast of his army, by a series of combined sea and land attacks, carried the islets in the swamp of Anigrus, the Alpheus, and the Bay of Katakolo, and made a great number of prisoners. Of the insurgents that endeavoured to escape in boats, many were intercepted by the Egyptian vessels:

others reached Zante, and thence were sent to Kalamos, after being supplied with medicines and dressings for the wounded. Detaching a column towards Patrass, Ibrahim invested the castle of Klemouzzi (called by the Venetians Castel Tornese), built on the brow of the extreme western headland of Peloponnesus, and overlooking the channels of Zante, Cefalonia, and Ithaca. At the northern base of the hill on which it stands lies the little port of Klarenza, the old Cyllene, once the Eleian naval arsenal, capital of the Morea in the thirteenth century, under the French Princes of the house of Champagne, and at present an insignificant hamlet. Although dismantled and long neglected, the solid stone walls of this fort would have been perfectly tenable against the Pasha, had not its cisterns been spoiled and dry. The Greeks had mounted on the ramparts eight pieces of cannon taken out of a Turkish brig wrecked in the middle of March near Klarenza, and imagining that the Egyptians would pass it by, as they had done in the previous campaigns, Sisini's second son threw himself into the castle with 1800 persons, 300 of whom were fighting men. Ibrahim began the siege with three fieldpieces, but seeing he made no progress, landed two howitzers from his shipping, planted them on an eminence to the east of the fort, bombarded it, and repulsed two nocturnal sorties of the garrison. The blockade lasted for three weeks, until intolerable thirst, rendered more painful by want of room, and the burning rays of an almost vertical sun, forced the insurgents to propose terms; but the Pasha would grant no capitulation, saying, "they must surrender at discretion, and that he knew how to dispose of them." There being no alternative, they laid down their arms (May the 17th), and submitted themselves to his mercy. Only fifteen of them had been killed by the shells, but upwards of 200 died immedi-

ately after the surrender, in consequence of drinking an immoderate quantity of water. Ibrahim treated Michael Sisini with civility, even allowing him to go sometimes and dine with the English vice-consul at Patrass; the meaner captives of both sexes he stowed away in the holds of his vessels, condemning them to eternal slavery. While he was subduing Elis, the Ottoman fleet, destined to act in conjunction with him, sailed from the Hellespont. Khosref had abdicated the office of Capitan Pasha, the Sultan having appointed him Serasker of the troops quartered in and about the capital; and his successor being detained at Constantinople, Tahir Pasha and the Patrona Bey commanded the fleet, which consisted of one line-of-battle ship, nine frigates, and eighteen corvettes and brigs. If Cochrane had waylaid them in the Archipelago, the Turks would probably have been defeated; but as he was at the Piræus, they proceeded without any obstacle to Navarin. After the rout of Cape Colias, his lordship resolving to try his fortune on his proper element, visited Hydra (May the 14th), and experienced every mark of deference and respect from the Archons of that island and of Spezzia. The money he brought from France was all spent, but he cultivated so successfully the good-will of the brothers Condouriotti and Orlando, that they advanced a month's pay to the Hydriote vessels, which united at Porto Kheli with those of Spezzia and Psarra. The latter had just been bereaved of their veteran commodore Apostoli, who died of a pleurisy, much and justly regretted, for he was a brave and worthy man, and an excellent patriot. Although he always headed his countrymen in their encounters with the enemy's marine, he thought it beneath him either to lead himself, or permit his son to accompany expeditions for the mere purpose of acquiring plunder. Inspirited by Cochrane's presence,

the Greek sailors longed for an action with the Moslems: however, his lordship seemed little inclined to take advantage of their ardour, his speculative disposition inducing him to neglect the ordinary methods of making war, and to run after strange and romantic achievements. Informed that Ibrahim Pasha directed the siege of Castel Tornese from the deck of a brig anchored at Klarenza, and conceiving it possible to surprise him, the admiral weighed with the Hellas and Karteria alone, leaving the rest of his squadron to draw pay and rations at Porto Kheli. Arrived in the Ionian Sea, he sent the steamer forwards in the night to cut off the hostile vessels from Patrass, following at a distance in the frigate, which hoisted Austrian colours. Early on the morning of the 22d, Hastings passed through the roads of Zante, and the wind blowing him off the Morea shore, went to the preconcerted rendezvous of Oxia. Cochrane was also baffled by the weather: off the Strophades he met a Turkish brig and schooner, but took no notice of them, not wishing to lose time. Soon afterwards a contrary breeze freshened, and being apprehensive he would not fetch Klarenza while there was daylight, he bore up and chased them; again the wind shifted, and he, once more altering his course, reached Klarenza at nightfall, and brought two Egyptian corvettes to action. The first broadside from the Hellas killed and wounded forty men in one of them, but immediately it became too dark to point the guns, and the Egyptians escaped to Patrass. As for Ibrahim, he had provided for his own safety some hours before, by jumping into a boat and hurrying ashore as soon as he saw a suspicious-looking frigate. Hastings missed the Hellas, and his engine having gone wrong, his stock of coals only sufficing for three days, with bread and water for a week, returned to Spezzia, and in doubling Cape Malea carried away two of his masts.

Lord Cochrane cruised for ten days, captured a transport partly laden with ammunition, partly with Christian slaves, deposited in the lazaretto of Zante ten Turks whom he found on board, and sent the prize to Poros. On the 6th of June he formed a junction, off Cerigo, with the Greek squadron of one corvette, fourteen brigs, and eight fire-ships, reconnoitred Suda, and on the 11th sailed for Alexandria, where, as he knew, Mohammed Ali was diligently equipping a fourth grand expedition. Ever since he set out from England, his lordship had been meditating an attack upon the Viceroy's fleet and arsenal, as the surest mode of paralysing the Mohammedans. It seems that the latter had forgotten the audacious attempt of Canaris, for when the insurgents came in sight of Alexandria, under Austrian colours, on the afternoon of the 16th, they were readily mistaken for an imperial convoy. Nevertheless, on their nearer approach, the outside cruisers took the alarm, and running for the port, one of them, a brig of twenty-two guns, was stranded at its mouth. Anchoring two miles from the shore, Cochrane made a signal for the eight brulots to go in, but only two obeyed, and succeeded in setting fire to the brig, which blew up at nine o'clock. The wind then failing, the Greeks lay motionless till next morning. Had they boldly entered the harbour, there was every chance of their destroying the Pasha's navy, which was refitting, and altogether unprepared for an engagement. Dismay seized the Egyptians, and the Viceroy himself was active all night in getting ammunition on board his ships, and warping them into open water; an operation in which he was assisted by a breeze blowing within the port, while it was calm outside. His proud spirit could not brook the insult Cochrane put upon him even in his lair; at daybreak he weighed anchor in a brig-of-war lately built for him at Marseilles, and was seen stand-

ing on the poop, talking vehemently, brandishing his staff, and pulling his beard. On the morning of the 17th, some Egyptian gun-boats went out, intending to cut off a fire-ship becalmed under the land, but the launches of the squadron being despatched to her aid, the Moslems retired. Cochrane stood off and on the whole day, and in the evening steered to the north-west; his speedy departure was occasioned by the circumstance of the Greek vessels having taken provisions at Spezzia, for eighteen, instead of forty days, as he had ordered them. Mohammed Ali sailed in pursuit of him on the 18th, with six frigates, six corvettes of twenty-four guns each, and ten strong brigs, tracking him at a respectful distance as far as Rhodes. This was an empty bravado, for his officers studiously avoided closing with the Hellas, and, indeed, his ships were by no means in fighting trim. The insurgents passed on each side of Rhodes, and Cochrane dropped his anchor (July the 2d) at Poros. On their return to Alexandria, a part of the Egyptians fell in with Hastings, who was looking for his admiral, and might have taken or sunk him, his engine being again out of order; but they did not choose to meddle with the Karteria.

After the reduction of Castel Tornese, and the affair of Klarenza, Ibrahim Pasha went to Patrass, and thence (June the 6th) to the Morea castle, to superintend the business of ferrying across the gulf 3000 horses collected in Albania, to remount his cavalry and train of equipages, and which a corps of Arabs (detached for that purpose in the beginning of May) brought from Arta. His ravages were at length beginning to produce the effect he desired: shaken by the surrender of Athens, and the presence of his army amongst them, the people of Kalavryta and Pyrgos made overtures of submission, and received from him a written deed of amnesty. However, the Albanian tribe of Zapata, in-

habiting the woody hills of Mavrovouni which jut out into the promontory of Cape Papas, rejected every proposition, and amidst their forests and swamps obstinately resisted the incursions of his troops. Ahmed Pasha conducted to Tripolizza, on the 14th, a convoy of provisions laid on the backs of 2000 horses, escorted by a strong column of Arabs and Arnauts, and having relieved the garrison, came again to Patrass on the 25th. Ibrahim advanced to Kalavryta on the 29th, at the head of 10,000 men, who traversed the ripe cornfields without committing the least damage; he then proceeded to Tripolizza, and renewed his forays in the heart of Arcadia and Laconia. Such was his celerity, that in one night he led his cavalry to Mistra, a distance of twelve leagues, hoping to come unawares upon the Christians, who, being apprized in time of his motions by their scouts, either climbed Taygetus, or got into the castle occupied by Yatrako. The habitual life of the Mistriotes at this epoch may serve as a specimen of the state of the Morea smarting under his inroads: during the hours of darkness all was silent, not a soul daring to sleep in the ruins of the town; but with the earliest streaks of dawn, a crowd of men, armed to the teeth, descended from the rocks to the market-place, bartered their wares, and exercised handicraft trades. A nation that will endure, season after season, so precarious an existence, is not easily conquered.

Colliopoulo, John Colocotroni, and Nikitas, roved about the mountains, subsisting their followers at free quarters, seldom encountering the enemy, and treating the peasantry like Helots; they burned the villages that did not instantly comply with their requisitions, and the two former are accused of selling their countrymen to the Turks. Church published two ostentatious reports of victories over the Infidels, but if the truth must be told, the actions alluded to were very tri-

vial skirmishes. The first happened (August the 10th) at the Dervend of Makryplai, where Nikitas dispersed a convoy, and took many mules; the second in Kalavryta on the 8th of September, when a division of the garrison of Patrass was repulsed by the bands of Colliopoulo, Pettimeza, Kheliotis, &c. From Argos, old Colocotroni proceeded in August to Megaspileon, being invited by the monks to defend their currant grounds against Delhi Ahmed Pasha, who, supported by a flotilla of five brigs and schooners, marched upon Vostizza with 3000 or 4000 men, and twelve pieces of cannon. Exclusive of rations, the Caloyers disbursed 70,000 piastres for the pay of 2000 soldiers, without receiving an iota of value in exchange; for Colocotroni declined going into the plain as long as the Turks were encamped in it, although he gleaned after them, engaging his Pallikars by the offer of a few paras to creep into the vineyards in the night-time, and gather baskets of fruit, which he disposed of for his own account. Meanwhile the Constantinopolitan ships were continually passing to and fro between Sapienza and Prevesa: Tahir Pasha anchored in the roads of Patrass (June the 4th) with seven sail, and the rest of the fleet came in there on the 16th; they returned to Navarin on the 23d, beat up to Patrass (July the 5th), and weighed on the 10th. Two Spezziote schooners observed them, and, confident in their rate of sailing, frequently crossed their course, showing flags and firing guns; unheeded by the grave Moslems, who were sensible of the inutility of giving chase. The captains of these two cruisers, indulging their appetite for prize money, involved their island in a most unpleasant dispute with the Austrian commodore Dandolo, Paulucci's successor. Meeting near Prevesa four brigs bound from Trieste to Alexandria, with cargoes of wood, they detained and carried them into Spezzia. Dandolo, who was at Nauplia, demanded

and obtained a sight of their papers sent up to the prize court there, and sailing to Spezzia on the 31st of July with the Bellona of sixty-four guns, and a brig of war, claimed restitution of the vessels and cargoes. The local authorities, afraid of their own populace, demurred, representing that the case ought to be judged by the maritime tribunal; but the commodore, despising such arguments, next day peppered the town and port, which was full of shipping, with round shot, grape, and rockets. After the four brigs had been given up to him, he demanded 6000 dollars as a compensation for the siezure of an imperial merchantman in the month of January, threatening to resume hostilities if they were not paid within two hours; however, ere the two hours elapsed, a gale of wind drove him out to sea. We must admit that the Austrian had great provocation, that the prizes were illegal, and the Napoli prize court a sink of iniquity; yet this cannot altogether justify the excessive violence of Dandolo, who might have got redress, as Captain Hamilton often did, without resorting to the malicious expedient of attempting to burn the Spezziote squadron. One vessel caught fire, and the whole were saved with difficulty through the exertions of the seamen, of whom eleven were slain in performing this duty, and others lost their lives in the streets. The Greeks transmitted to the ambassadors of the three allied courts at Constantinople, a remonstrance which prevented Dandolo from ever coming in quest of his 6000 dollars.

Cochrane, being much distressed for want of funds after his return from Alexandria, left Poros, on the 12th of July, accompanied by several Hydriote and Spezziote primates, and made a progress through the Egean Sea, endeavouring to remodel the administration of the islands, and render them more strictly dependent upon the Admiralty. He laid a contribution of 40,000

dollars upon the merchants of Syra, but, after some debate, allowed them to compound for half that sum, which they paid. Having visited Nauplia, where civil war was raging, and touched at Poros, he again put to sea on the 27th, steering towards Cape Malea. No other vessel attended the Hellas, but next day she fell in with the national brig, the Sauveur, purchased by the French committee, and now commanded by Captain Thomas, an expert and steady British officer. They looked into Navarin on the 30th, and while thus employed perceived sixteen Turkish ships coming before the wind from Patrass, upon which the frigate and brig tacked and stood to the south-west: they observed one corvette, two brigs, and two schooners haul their wind, and make sail to the north, the rest of the division going into Navarin. On the 31st, the enemy's five vessels being in sight under the land of Zante, Cochrane gave chase, and coming up with them at noon of the 1st of August, between Klarenza and Cape Papas, the Hellas brought the corvette to close action, which lasted for forty-five minutes, when the Turks struck their flag, at the same time hailing, that, unless assured of good quarter, they would blow themselves up. His lordship's flag-captain, St George, immediately boarded, calmed their fears, and took possession of the prize, a fast-sailing ship, mounting twenty-eight long brass guns (twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four pounders). Captain Thomas attacked and speedily captured a Tunisian schooner of ten guns, the other schooner and two brigs escaping to Patrass. The admiral was less gratified at his victory, than mortified that so inferior a vessel should have fought the Hellas for three quarters of an hour, and disgusted at the backwardness of his crew. In his first cruise he carried with him 400 men recruited in the Cyclades, but as they ran below in his engagement with the two Egyptian cor-

vettes, he discharged them, and took Hydriotes alone. These last, though better mariners, and really more courageous, were disconcerted by his system of reserving his fire till within pistol-shot, so different from their own plan of cannonading at a mile's distance; ignorant of the language, and therefore unable to understand the orders of their European officers, they lost countenance, and many left their quarters.* Of 470 thirty-two lb. shot, which the frigate fired away, four only (pointed by the admiral and Captain St George) hit the corvette, but the grape from the forty-two lb. carronades made great havoc. Twenty-five Turks, with their first and second captains, were killed, and thirty-five severely wounded, out of 270 that were on board the corvette, and of forty-five Tunisians in the schooner, fifteen were killed or wounded: twenty Greek women and children regained their liberty. The Hellas had two wounded, one of them a Scotch gentleman, brother to Major Urquhart. Hastily refitting his prize, removing her guns to the frigate, and taking her in tow, the admiral passed through the midst of the Turkish fleet sent out to intercept him, like a herd of turtles trying to catch a hare, and on the 14th arrived at Poros. According to his invariable practice of treating prisoners with humanity, he set the Mussulman officers ashore in Candia; and Mehemet Ali, not to be outdone in generosity, released 100 Hydriotes. From the interior of the Morea, Ibrahim marched down to Modon (July the 18th), in full confidence that the junction of the Alexandrian fleet would soon enable him to finish the war, by subduing Hydra; he secured the crop of figs (the staple commodity of

* "The boys (said Cochrane) behaved pretty well, but the oldest, and ugliest, and fiercest-looking bravoes of Hydra ran to the other side of the deck, roaring like market bulls!" His lordship took summary satisfaction by knocking them down with his fists, right and left.

Messenia), and to amuse his leisure, and keep his forces in wind, essayed sundry demonstrations against the outskirts and small maritime towns of Maina. On the 7th of August, fourteen frigates and corvettes cannonaded Khytries for five hours, without doing much damage; at Scardamoula his squadron was equally unsuccessful, and in general the Ottoman crews sustained more injury from the musketry of the Laconians, than the latter did from the shipping's great guns.

SECTION III.

THINGS in the Levant now assumed a very lowering aspect, the plot thickened, and the nations, whether Christian or Moslem, awaited with breathless anxiety a denouement that could not be far off. While the Porte sternly refused, the Greeks had accepted the proposed mediation; the English and French squadrons were cruising in the Egean Sea, betwixt Thermia and Milo, the Russians slowly approaching the same point from the ocean, and the Egyptian armada advancing from an opposite quarter. If the London conference had been able to arrest the departure of the Viceroy's navy, that single circumstance would have been tantamount to a suspension of arms, by cutting short the Turkish plans of offence for the rest of the campaign; but Colonel Cradock reached Alexandria too late to stop its sailing; it had already put to sea, the last vessels going out of port on the 5th of August. This potent fleet consisted of ninety-two sail, fifty-one of which were men-of-war. The first division, commanded by the Capitana Bey, included two line-of-battle ships of eighty-four guns, five Turkish, and three Tunisian frigates, carrying from forty-four to fifty guns each, nine Constantinople corvettes, and a brig of

Tunis: the second, or Egyptian division, under the orders of Moharrem Bey, enlightened by the counsels of the French Rear-Admiral Le Tellier, who had been training 3000 Arab seamen, comprehended four sixty-four gun-frigates, eleven corvettes, four brigs, six schooners, and six fire-ships, accompanied by forty-one transports (five of them European), which carried a regiment of regular infantry (3700 strong), 100 horsemen, abundance of ammunition and provisions, and 1,000,000 dollars in specie. All the persons belonging to the expedition were paid up to the 18th of August. A Spezziote schooner, cruising off the mouth of the Nile, followed the fleet for eleven days, captured two transports, and quitting the traces of the Mussulmans near Rhodes, conveyed on the 27th intelligence to Hydra of their having sailed. As soon as the news transpired, Admiral de Rigny, who was at Milo, despatched a frigate to the coast of Karamania, instructing her commander to seek out Moharrem Bey and communicate to him the altered posture of affairs; but neither that frigate, nor any other ship of the allies, got sight of the armada, which went into Navarin on the 7th of September. Sir Edward Codrington being informed of their arrival on the evening of the 10th, instantly weighed from his anchorage in the roads of Nauplia, and presenting himself, two days later, before Navarin, found the fleet preparing to go out. He addressed a letter, on the 19th, to the commander of the Ottoman naval forces, setting forth that in consequence of a treaty, signed in London, the Turks could not be permitted to prosecute hostilities, and deprecating any attempt on their part, which might produce a collision with the allies.

The officer intrusted with this epistle (Mr Baillie Hamilton) handed it to the Capitana Bey, who, shrinking from responsibility, referred him to Ibrahim; he

therefore pulled ashore, and had a conference with the Pasha in his tent. Ibrahim expressed much surprise, and desired time for reflection. In conversation on board the Capitana Bey's ship, Captain B. Hamilton learned that the fleet was destined for Hydra, and expected to sail next day, the troops being embarked. Admiral de Rigny united with his colleague on the 22d, when they addressed in their joint names to the Pasha, a second letter similar to the former one. Next morning, M. de Rigny landed, and in a long private colloquy with Ibrahim used every possible argument to impress upon his mind the necessity of acceding to an armistice: the Pasha spoke coolly and sensibly, confessing that he was placed in an embarrassing situation, aggravated by the distrust of the Turkish officers, one of whom (Tahir Pasha), affronted at having been requested to leave Ibrahim's tent during the interview, declared that henceforth he would stay in his flag-ship. On the 25th the two admirals paid a visit of ceremony to Ibrahim, and, in presence of the principal Mussulman chiefs, formally announced their intention of enforcing a suspension of arms: he replied that he had no authority to negotiate, and was determined to obey the Sultan's orders; that, nevertheless, as the Porte could not have foreseen the actual turn of affairs, he would send dispatches to Constantinople and Egypt, and, till his couriers returned, promised on his word of honour not to let the fleet go to sea. A letter from Mohammed Ali, of which Colonel Cradock was the bearer, seems to have influenced his pacific resolution. Having gained this essential point, the European squadrons separated, leaving some of their smaller vessels to watch Navarin: Sir Edward Codrington went to Zante, and Monsieur de Rigny to Milo. As the latter was passing at night near the Isle of Servi, two of his seventy-fours ran foul of each other, and the Provence was constrained to go to Toulon

to refit, the Scipion stepping a new mainmast at Milo. Hardly had the admirals effected a temporary arrangement with Ibrahim, when they were engaged in a like discussion with the Greeks, who, understanding how much their position was improved by the Porte's restiveness, prepared to avail themselves of it ere they were bound by a regular truce. They planned three expeditions—one to Scio under Fabvier—a second on the side of Thessaly—and a third and more considerable enterprise against Western Greece, to be conducted by Lord Cochrane and General Church. Upon the first rumour of the London treaty, those who had capitulated in the districts of Patrass and Kalavryta cancelled their submission; and in Acarnania, Tzongas, Rhangos, and Tzelios, encouraged by the appearance of the brig Sauveur in the port of Dragomestre (July 10th), and a proclamation of her captain, expelled the son of Varnakiottis, and formed flying camps. The insurgents thought, that while the hands of the Turks were tied up, they might recover Messalonghi: Church moved from the isthmus to Vostizza, and in order to transport his troops to the shore of Etolia, Cochrane collected at Spezzia a squadron of twenty-three sail, viz. the Hellas frigate, the steam corvette Karteria, the eighteen-gun brig Sauveur, two corvettes, eight brigs, and four fire-ships of Hydra, three Psarrian vessels, and three gun-boats fitted for rowing or sailing, and armed with thirty-two pounders. He arrived in sight of Messalonghi on the 10th of September, took two or three small barks, and having caused a mortar-raft to be constructed, fired upon Vassiladi from it and his gun-boats, but to no purpose: he was ignorant that the blockhouse contained a garrison of only fourteen men. His proceedings were soon interrupted, the English brig Philomel bringing an intimation from Sir Edward Codrington, that no hostilities would be suf-

fered on the coasts of Albania. The sailors, too, claiming an advance of wages, because the term of a month was nearly run out, he bore away for Syra with seventeen sail, and on his voyage falling in with the steamer Enterprise, just arrived from England, took her in tow. He left in the waters of Messalonghi, the Karteria, the Sauveur, two schooners, and two gun-boats, directing Commodore Hastings to enter the Gulf of Corinth, and co-operate with Church. On the 21st, Captain Thomas, towing one gun-boat, and followed by the schooners, passed the narrows in broad daylight, in defiance of the fire of the castles, and three men-of-war anchored under the Morea. Two days after, he attacked a Turkish flotilla in the Scala of Salona, but not being properly supported by the schooners, was beaten off, and a gale of wind drove him to Loutraki. Hastings attempting to thread the Little Dardanelles on the 22d, a calm surprised him within shot of the forts: however, next day a gun-boat towed him in, and he reconnoitred the enemy's squadron, moored at Scala under the protection of a battery and several hundred musketeers posted among the rocks. It was composed of a fourteen-gun brig, bearing an admiral's flag, a very fine schooner, carrying sixteen guns, another brig, two smaller schooners, two armed transports, and two large gun-boats, besides three Austrian merchant brigs, which were loading currants bought of the Turks. Bad weather hindered Hastings from acting until the 30th, when, being rejoined by the Sauveur, he engaged, and in half an hour completely defeated the Ottoman flotilla. The Karteria's first broadside of red-hot empty shells blew up the admiral's brig; a second sunk the other brig, and set fire to a schooner: the Turks abandoned the large schooner; but she having drifted high on shore, could not be got afloat, and was ultimately burnt. Altogether seven out

of nine hostile vessels were destroyed, and the three Austrians taken. The loss of the Greeks, numerically slight, chiefly arose from their perseverance in trying to bring away the sixteen-gun schooner: Captain Thomas was hurt in the leg, and his first lieutenant, Scanlan,* mortally wounded by a shot in the belly. These combats in the gulf produced most important consequences. Ibrahim, who, in his discourse with the admirals, had complained of the license they gave the insurgents while they were restraining him, became furious when he heard of the fight at Scala, and, deeming it no longer incumbent upon him to observe an armistice which was violated by his adversaries, ordered the fleet to weigh, and his army to penetrate into the heart of the Morea, one column taking the route of Karitena, another that of Patrass. The captains of Colocotroni's kindred and party made head as well as they could against the Egyptians, without being able seriously to obstruct their march: Church, afraid of being attacked by a superior force, retired from Vostizza to the plateau of Diakoptos, and Hastings endeavoured to fortify himself in a bay near Perakhora. Sir Edward Codrington lay at Zante with the Asia, the Talbot frigate, and the Zebra brig, when, at four o'clock in the afternoon of October the 1st, the frigate Dartmouth, which had been left to watch Navarin, was seen making signals that the Moslems were out; and shortly thirty men-of-war and transports were perceived from the heights, standing to the north-west, with a fair wind. As the weather was variable and squally, with a heavy swell, the admiral had some difficulty in getting under weigh; however, on the following morning, finding himself between the Turks and the mouth

* Mr Scanlan was an Irish gentleman, who came out as lieutenant with Hastings: he distinguished himself at Phalerus in the battle of the 11th of February.

of the gulf, he wrote a note to the Patrona Bey, who led them in a double-banked frigate, summoning him to return to Navarin,—an injunction with which the Bey complied, after showing a certain degree of hesitation. He was on his way back escorted by the English ships, when, on the evening of the 3d, a second division of three frigates, four corvettes, and seven brigs, was descried in the channel of Cefalonia: in one of the frigates was Ibrahim Pasha, and the other two carried at the main the flags of Tahir Pasha and Moharrem Bey. After communicating by signal with the Patrona Bey, the whole continued their course towards Navarin; but at nine o'clock at night they bore up for Patrass, and a violent south-east wind preventing them from fetching the gulf, many of their ships dropped their anchors under the lee of Cape Papas. Codrington, who had gone into the roads of Zante, went out again on the morning of the 4th, with the Asia, Dartmouth, Talbot, and Philomel brig, and, struggling against wind and sea, in the evening came up with the Mohammedans, and, by firing among their vessels, cut them off from Patrass, which they intended to revictual. The night was stormy, and next morning it blew a hurricane, dispersing the Pasha's fleet, and forcing the English admiral to run to Zante under bare poles. Overawed by Sir Edward's firmness, and baffled by the weather, Ibrahim steered to the south, and re-entered Navarin.

As soon as the gale moderated, Codrington went towards Messalonghi (on the 7th), boarded two Austrian transports, and a Turkish brig that had landed men at Vassiladi, and towing them in his wake to the promontory of Klarenza, sent them after their fleet. On the 13th, Count Heyden, with four Russian line-of-battle ships, and four frigates, joined Sir Edward off Zante; Admiral de Rigny arrived the same day from Milo; and the Genoa and Albion from Malta, as well

as the residue of the English and French ships, speedily making their appearance, the three allied squadrons were united on the 18th, before Navarin. Consulting together, the admirals came to a conclusion, that it would be advisable for them to go into the harbour, and, renewing their former proposals, induce Ibrahim to abandon the Morea, or at least stop the ravages his troops were committing. Although the minute of their deliberations expressed a positive intention of avoiding bloodshed, yet we can entertain no doubt, that they foresaw the probable result, and were convinced (like every thinking man, except the members of the corps diplomatique) that the knot they had to unfasten could only be severed by the sword. Codrington was irritated at the recent Turkish breach of faith, and provoked by reports of the devastations of the Arabs about Calamata, where they were cutting down and burning the fruit-trees; and the French and Russian admirals preferred the chances of a battle to those of a prolonged blockade in the winter season.

At noon, on the 20th, the European fleet cleared for action, and stood into the bay; the English squadron leading, the French following, and the Russians bringing up the rear. The Mussulmans, who were on the alert, and had drawn up their armada in the shape of a horse-shoe, immediately made up their minds that the allies came to attack them; and the Capitana Bey said to his colleagues—"The die is now cast—I told you the English would not be trifled with." Such being the disposition on both sides, a conflict was inevitable; and a conflict ensued, attended with defeat and slaughter to the Ottoman marine, unexampled since the day of Lepanto. Instead of methodically repeating the oft published details of this memorable event, we shall confine ourselves to a few facts, omitting the vexed question of—Who was the first aggressor?—that point

being as obscure to the Mohammedans as to the Christians. The force of the allies amounted to twenty-six ships carrying 1324 guns;* and that of the Turks to seventy-nine men-of-war (three of them two-deckers) armed with 2240 guns, exclusive of the artillery on the batteries; yet the former, having ten sail of the line, were evidently the stronger. If the engagement had taken place out at sea, it would not have lasted an hour, but being fought at anchor, and in smooth water, where there was no possibility of manœuvring, it raged for four hours, and was both obstinate and bloody. The English stood the brunt, and sustained the greatest loss; the French vied with them in skill and valour; and the Russians, who had to contend against the batteries, displayed equal courage, and suffered severely, but their fire was not so well directed. The first had 75 killed (including Captain Bathurst of the Genoa), and 197 wounded: the Russians 57 killed, 137 wounded, and the Azoff, bearing Count Heyden's flag, lost more than any other single ship: of the French, 43 were killed, and 117 wounded, making a grand total of 626 men hors-de-combat. It is supposed that not less than 6000 Turks were slain; and of about 120 men-of-war and transports, there remained afloat from twenty to thirty corvettes and brigs, all the rest being sunk, blown up, or driven ashore, shattered and dismasted wrecks.

The Capitana Bey had a leg shot away in the beginning of the action; Moharrem Bey received a wound; and the carnage on board their line-of-battle ships, and double-banked frigates, was prodigious. The reverbe-

* The English squadron consisted of one ship of eighty-four guns, two of seventy-four, four frigates, three ten-gun brigs, and two cutters; but the Cambrian and Glasgow did not come up till the contest was nearly over. The French had three seventy-fours, a sixty-four-gun frigate, one of forty-four guns, and two schooners; the Russians four seventy-fours, and four frigates.

rations of the cannonade, and especially the explosions, were heard as far as Zante and Cerigo. Neither did the allies take possession of prizes, nor detain prisoners, but they saved the lives of many Turks, swimming or floating on spars: some of the vanquished, landing at the bottom of the harbour, fell into Greek ambuscades.

Ibrahim was absent on an excursion towards Pyrgos; however, he returned to Neocastron on the 21st, in time to witness the torn and smoking fragments of his navy. If rumour may be credited, he affected to laugh at a catastrophe, which, though highly afflicting to the Sultan and his own father, certainly extricated him from the dilemma in which he was placed, between his sovereign's orders, and the mandates of the three greatest powers of Europe. When the battle had ceased, the admirals entered into a fresh correspondence with the Moslems; it was agreed that there should be no farther hostilities, and on the 25th the allied fleet quitted Navarin. Most of the ships were crippled: the Genoa and Albion went to refit in England, the Breslaw and Syrenè at Toulon; the rest of the British squadron, and the Russians, repaired their damages at the dockyard of Malta. Admiral de Rigny proceeded in the Trident to Smyrna, in order to protect the Europeans settled there. Ibrahim occupied himself in rendering seaworthy such of his vessels as were least injured; and on the 5th of November, Tahir Pasha sailed in the best corvette for Constantinople, to lay before the Sultan a statement of what had happened.

SECTION IV.

THROUGHOUT a great part of Christendom, news of the battle of Navarin diffused exceeding gladness; the French nation was in raptures, and even the sedate

cabinet of St Petersburgh could not dissemble its joy. In England, the feeling of exultation was confined to a minority; the High Tories, who then constituted a powerful opposition, exclaimed against this aggression on the forces of an old ally as a wanton act of perfidy, and the ministers, ashamed of having calculated so badly the consequences of their interference, seemed thunderstruck at an event for which they ought to have been prepared, afraid to take a manly line of defence, and uncertain what course to pursue.

After virtually pronouncing an opinion on the matter, by rewarding the officers that achieved the victory, they sent Sir John Gore to collect information in the Mediterranean, and thereby gave their opponents a handle to taunt them with inconsistency. Before, however, the question could be debated in Parliament, Lord Goderich's administration was dissolved; and his successors in office, hating Greece and her cause, would fain have shaken off the trammels imposed by the treaty of the 6th of July, which hung like a millstone about their necks. That they could not do, but their declared dislike of the transaction, and the blandishments with which they held out the olive branch to Turkish legitimacy, precipitated the Porte into the very train of evils Mr Canning had laboured to shield her from. Censured in no measured terms by one party, and barely screened by his employers, whose approbation had too much of an apologetic character, Sir Edward Codrington declined again to act on his own responsibility, vainly demanding more precise orders: the French limited their surveillance to the Archipelago, and as the Russians lingered at Malta, this supineness of the allies was favourable to Ibrahim, who, by drawing supplies from the Ionian Islands, provided for the future subsistence of his army, and despatched to Egypt, in charge of the Capitana and Patrona Beys, the relics of his fleet,

filled with invalids and Christian prisoners. On the 27th of December, four frigates, eight brigs of war, four cutters, and several transports, casting anchor at Alexandria, set ashore 4000 maimed Arabs, and 5000 Greek slaves of both sexes; a line-of-battle ship that sailed with the convoy, and separated in a gale of wind, entered the harbour a few days after. The above circumstance furnished the new ministry with a pretext to curtail the period of Codrington's command, thus punishing him ostensibly for neglect, in allowing the captives to be carried away, and really for his victory of Navarin.

At Constantinople there was not any perceptible variation in the attitude of the Divan, from the 16th of August (the day on which the ambassadors notified the signature of the treaty), until intelligence of the battle arrived. The representatives of the mediating courts having transmitted an official application to the Austrian internuncio (Baron Ottenfels), and the Prussian minister (Miltitz), requesting their support, the latter addressed a friendly admonition to the Reis Effendi; but the Austrian replied, that he waited for instructions from Vienna. On the 30th, the interpreters of England, France, and Russia, presenting themselves at the palace of the Porte, craved an answer to the note they had delivered on the 16th. "My positive, absolute, definitive, unchangeable, eternal answer" (said Pertef Effendi) "is, that the Sublime Porte does not accept any proposition concerning the Greeks, and will persist in its own will for ever and ever, even unto the day of the last judgment." Next day the Dragomans handed to the Ottoman minister the second declaration framed in London, but they could extract nothing from him beyond what he had already uttered. Although the Turks have always been an obstinate race, yet their unflinching firmness during this tiresome and harass-

ing negotiation, was not entirely spontaneous, but seems likewise to have sprung from the insinuations of Austria. If the muse of history brands Prince Metternich as the most illiberal, she must also style him the most consistent and longest-sighted statesman of his age, and the one least likely to be betrayed by either good or bad feelings into a political fault. Looking steadily to the permanent stability of the conservative system, he would not, for the advantage of maintaining a fleeting hour of peace in Europe, sacrifice an atom of despotic principle, retarded, as far as in him lay, the emancipation of Greece, and had at Laybach, through insidious arts, overcome Count Capodistria's influence, and fixed the irresolution of the Emperor Alexander.* The protocol of St Petersburgh, and the treaty of London, were wormwood to him, but he still solaced himself with a hope that ripening seeds of discord would pierce the cement of the triple alliance. Arguing in this sense he counselled the Turks to be cool and steadfast, and neither breaking with, nor yielding to the mediating powers, to stifle by every means of force or fraud the insurrection, even though it should become necessary to make some hollow concession to the rebels. Accordingly Reshid Pasha caused letters to be written to the Roumeliote exiles in Peloponnesus, inviting them to return home under a promise of full protection and amnesty; while the Byzantine Patriarch was commanded to present to the Porte a petition signed by several captains of Epirus and Thessaly, acknowledging their faults, and praying for pardon in accents the most cringing. A translation of this document was immediately published in the Austrian papers, and, indeed, its style would justify a suspicion that it was composed

* It is generally believed, that a forged correspondence, purporting to have passed betwixt Alexander Ypsilanti and the secret societies of Italy and Germany was shown to the Autocrat.

at Vienna. It deceived no one, for neither Europeans nor Hellenes could be caught with such chaff.

These facts are sufficiently notorious, but it is perhaps less known, even in diplomatic circles, that Prince Metternich, with unparalleled Machiavelism, endeavoured to hook himself on to the Greek question, through the medium of the insurgents themselves, whom he had been persecuting. The court of Vienna granted its subjects permission to form Philhellenic societies; and in February 1827, the captain of an Austrian ship of war, accompanied by an Austrian consul, asked an audience of the government at Egina, and explained that he was commissioned to assure the Greeks of the Emperor's tender regard for them, adding, that they would do well to appeal to the compassion of Francis the First. The Executive council listened with astonishment, but was not credulous enough to swallow the bait, being convinced that if the Imperial cabinet once got the point of a wedge introduced into their affairs, ruin and slavery would follow.

When the British and French squadrons blockaded Navarin, the Austrian chancellor began to perceive an error in his reckoning, and to apprehend that Turkey would push her resistance too far; he therefore modified his language, but lest so sudden and palpable a change of policy should be thought to infer a previous blunder, Baron Ottenfels kindly charged it to the account of his own stupidity in mistaking the meaning of his instructions. On the 9th of October, the Internuncio read his recantation, and preached compliance to the Turks, who chose rather to conform to his old than his new doctrine. On the 1st of November, the ambassadors received information of the collision at Navarin, and on the same day some rumours of it reached the Porte. Under the reign of the Janissaries, such intelligence might have convulsed Constantinople, but that

militia being now extinct, we must do the Mussulmans the justice to say, that they behaved with great temper. On the 2d, the Dragomans had two interviews with the Reis Effendi, who merely interrogated them respecting the destruction of the Ottoman fleet. They delivered to him, on the 4th, a message from the ambassadors, importing that their courts wished to preserve peace, enquiring whether the Divan was animated with similar sentiments, and imputing the recent aggression to the Turks themselves. This the Effendi denied, insisting that the admirals had no right to enter Navarin in a hostile manner; he refused to answer their question, telling them, the conduct of the Allies was like breaking a man's head in the midst of pacific professions. On the 7th, the Porte declared all previous treaties abolished in consequence of the late flagrant violation of their articles, laid an embargo upon merchant shipping, and would no longer give travelling passports to the couriers of the three legations. These decided acts occasioning remonstrances on one side, and recrimination on the other, a month was spent in fruitless discussion. As a basis to the re-establishment of friendly relations, the Turks brought forward the following points: a total dereliction of the Greek question; indemnity for the loss of their fleet; and satisfaction for the insult offered the Sultan's flag. The allied representatives absolutely rejecting such claims, threatened to depart from the city, unless the Porte would revoke its violent resolutions, accede to a suspension of arms, and notify its intention of bestowing on the Greeks privileges analogous to those secured them by the treaty of July the 6th. The Reis Effendi held separate conferences with the ambassadors of France and England, and the Russian envoy, hoping to find them more tractable when alone, than in company with their colleagues; and the Divan, somewhat startled at the idea

of their departure, relaxed its measures of retaliation, granting, as before, firmans to neutral vessels. Determined to put an end to the uncertainty of their position, the ambassadors going together to the Porte (November the 24th), in a conversation of five hours with Pertef Effendi, recapitulated their former arguments; however, although seasoned with politeness, his replies, in reference to Greece, conveyed as strong a negative as ever; and therefore, on the 28th, they formally required passports. The Turkish minister observed, that they were free to go or stay, but that the Porte would not by according firmans seem to sanction their departing. Next day he communicated confidentially to the Dragomans, what may be termed the Sultan's last word. It was this: that he was ready to pardon the Moreote rebels on their submission, forgive them the arrears of taxes, and reimbursement of the expenses they had caused him, and to exempt them for one year from payment of the Kharatch. His concessions coming so far short of the demands of the Allies, on the 8th of December the ambassadors left Constantinople, and thus closed the first act of European mediation.

Those only who have, through a providential interposition, escaped the pressure of some fearful calamity, can conceive the exultation excited in Greece by the event of Navarin: the people were mad with joy, and crowded the churches to vent the overflowings of national gratitude. The devotion of the middling and lower ranks was sincere, their delight unfeigned; but the primates appeared sad and silent, sensations of pleasure being mingled in their breasts with grave reflections. Hardly had hymns of thanksgiving ceased, and the detonations of artillery, fired in every town to celebrate the triumph of the Cross, died away in the echoes of the mountains, and on the blue Egean waves, when they recalled their thoughts from Heaven to

earth, and regretted the facility with which they promoted or tolerated Capodistria's election. They reasoned among themselves, that the Christian powers, having resolved to save Greece, would have equally accomplished the work, although the congress of Trœzene had never met; in which case the oligarchy might have continued to rule the country; whereas now they had set up a master likely to clip their wings, and make them render an account of their stewardship. From that hour we may date the birth of a sturdy opposition party, determined to abridge the authority, and narrowly scrutinize the administration, of their septennial president. The fatal blow struck at the Mohammedan marine, on the 20th of October, confirmed the insurgents in their design of freeing Roumelia, Crete, and Chios; and they parried adroitly the objections of the English and French admirals, contending that they were entitled to combat the Turks until the latter accepted a truce. In fine, the Allies consented to let them act as belligerents within a line extending from the Gulf of Arta to that of Volo, upon an understanding that their cruisers should not go above five leagues from the coast. In the beginning of October, Griziotti and Vasso sailed from Salamis, and at Skopelos were joined by Kara Tasso and the other Olympian captains. Their purpose was said to be the recovery of Eubœa; but, instead of invading it, they, on the 17th of November, disembarked 3000 men near Trikeri, and invested the town. On the 21st, Griziotti stormed two redoubts, while a Psarrian flotilla cut out a schooner and a number of boats: the nephew of Tahir Aga, commandant of Trikeri, his secretary, and several soldiers, were made prisoners. A thousand or twelve hundred Turks arrived from Larissa and Volo; but inclement weather prevented an engagement until the 29th, when they

joined battle, and the Moslems were worsted. According to the Greek bulletin, 500 of the enemy fell, with their general, Nourka Sebran, and 150 were taken, with five standards; however, an annexed list of two killed and eight wounded on the side of the victors shows how monstrously they exaggerated.

This enterprise, like so many preceding ones, ended in smoke; unable either to force the town of Trikeri, or continue its investment during winter, they sailed away, after plundering its environs. On the western shore of the continent, General Church managed his operations better, being seconded by Commodore Hastings, who came out of the gulf (November the 18th), and in passing the castles had two of his men slain by a cannon-shot. In the roads of Patrass he sunk an Austrian merchant schooner, which, in contravention of the blockade, was trading with the Turks, and endeavoured to warp in under cover of their guns. Meanwhile the Generalissimo advanced from Diakoptos to Nezera, in the hills of Kalavryta, whence he watched an opportunity of gaining the sea-side, in despite of Delhi Ahmed Pasha, who observed him at the head of 3000 men, sweeping with his cavalry the low grounds as far as Gastouni. Church, however, stole a march upon the enemy, descended the mountains in a storm of wind and rain, and learning that Ahmed Pasha had recrossed the river Kamenizza (the ancient Pirus), traversed the marshy plain of Palæa Achaia, his soldiers frequently wading to the neck in pools of water, and reached Karavostasi, under Cape Papas, where Hastings was waiting for him. On the 29th he embarked his troops, amounting to 1250, on board the Karteria, two Austrian brigs captured at Salona, and some small craft, and landing (December the 1st) in Acarnania, occupied Dragomestre, Mitika, and

Kandila, without resistance. Hastings, after wafting across a second division, commanded by Costa Bozzaris, went on the 6th, with the steamer and a gun-boat, to blockade Messalonghi and Anatoliko. On the 27th, the weather being favourable, he essayed the effect of a bombardment against Vassiladi, and although he lay at a distance of a mile and three quarters, four out of seven shells he threw lighted in the islet, and the last blew up its powder-magazine; then, manning his boats and pushing ashore, the Moslems surrendered at discretion. Of the garrison, originally consisting of near fifty men, thirty-one were taken, and dismissed unhurt, the others having perished in the explosion: twelve pieces of cannon (one of them a brass thirty-six pounder) were found in the fort. If ever there was a disinterested and really useful Philhellene, it was Hastings: he received no pay, and had expended most of his slender fortune in keeping the Karteria afloat for the last six months. During the year 1827, that brave officer burnt or sunk seven Ottoman men-of-war, cut out seven transports, as many neutral or Greek vessels breaking blockades, and now crowned his exploits by the important capture of Vassiladi: his ship, too, was the only one in the Greek navy where regular discipline was maintained. Cochrane, with the Hellas, and the corvette taken from the Turks (which he had named the Hydra), cruised for a fortnight, in November, off Modon, hoping to fall in with the Egyptian convoy on its way to Alexandria; but bad weather obliged him to return to Poros, five days before Ibrahim's vessels put to sea, and the sole prizes he made were a Mainatt piratical schooner, and a Dutch galliot, plundered by the former. Tired of dealing with disorderly Greeks, almost heart-broken by a series of disappointments, and the impossibility of doing any thing worthy of his fame, his

lordship remained at anchor for a month in the road-stead of Egina, expecting to see Capodistria, until, impatience getting the better of him, he ordered Miaulis to hoist his flag at the frigate's fore, and sailed for England in his yacht, (January the 10th,) one week previous to the count's arrival.

If the battle of Navarin improved the external prospects of Greece, it did not for the moment amend the interior situation of the country; piracy and anarchy reigned paramount, public as well as private robbers striving to make the most of the brief space allowed them; while the industrious and oppressed classes, longing for their president's presence, counted the hours and minutes that elapsed till he came among them. As soon as his correspondents in Corfu advertised the count that his election was sure, he left Geneva in the end of March, and hurried to St Petersburgh.

This was a wise step, which enabled him to postpone his acceptance of the presidency, until he had ascertained the sentiments of the allied potentates, and especially those of his patron the Czar. Nicholas, to whom the success of Capodistria's intrigue was highly agreeable, received him with open arms, and by an Imperial Ukase, dated July the 12th, and subscribed with his own hand, liberated him from the Muscovite service. After staying two months at the Russian capital, the Count visited London, where he had a harder game to play, the generality of English statesmen harbouring towards him distrust and aversion, because he had been adverse to their policy at the Vienna congress, and had always fostered the discontent of the Ionians. He laboured to efface this impression, by courting men of all parties, professing his resolution not to go to Greece, unless he went thither under the British flag. That wish was conceded to him, and he moreover ob-

tained a promise from the conference, that each of the three powers would place one ship of war at his disposal. On leaving England, he flattered himself with having made a conquest of Lord Goderich, but subsequently confessed that the Duke of Wellington had proved quite impregnable to his seductions. While in London, he wrote a reply to the official dispatch of the Assembly of Trœzene,* which overtook him in the month of May, at St Petersburgh, and announced his election. On the 28th of September, he entered Paris, and had reason to be pleased with his reception at the French court.

Thence travelling through Switzerland, and bidding adieu to the numerous private friends his six years' residence at Geneva had acquired for him, he reached Ancona, and sojourned there, waiting for a British man-of-war until the 28th of December, when he embarked in the Wolf corvette. Falling in, off Corfu, with the Warspite of 76 guns, he went on board the latter, and was conveyed to Malta. On the 10th of January, he sailed again in the same ship, which bringing up, on the 18th, at Napoli di Romania, concluded his peregrination of ten months.

While fortune, thus smiling upon Capodistria, presented him with a sceptre, his forsaken tool, Alexander Ypsilanti, lay stretched on his death-bed at Vienna. Released (in November) through Russian intercession, from the fortress of Theresienstad, on condition of residing within the Austrian states, he was on his way to Verona, in hopes that the fine climate of Italy might restore his decaying health. But his disease (a dilatation of the heart), had made too great progress, and he expired on the 31st of January, a martyr to Helle-

* Vide Appendix.



nic independence, and a victim of Prince Metternich's rigour. He was interred in a Greek chapel, the Bishop of Pharsalus reciting the funeral prayers; and the Prince and Princess Razoumoffski, two of his brothers, Orfanos, the faithful partner of his captivity, and a few of his countrymen settled in Vienna, attending his obsequies.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK VII.—CHAPTER III.

(No. I.)—*Letter addressed by Count Capodistria to George Sisini, President of the Third National Assembly of the Hellenes.*

Excellent Sir,

A few days ago, just as I was about to quit the capital of Russia, I received, through the channel of my brother, two dispatches forwarded to my address by your Excellency and the representatives of Greece, communicating the copies of two decrees, one of which does me the signal honour of appointing me governor of Greece, and the other authorizes me to contract a loan in the name of the nation. In the month of May, shortly after my arrival at St Petersburgh, I had learned, through the public prints and private letters, this flattering proof of the confidence which the Greek people reposes in me. It is unnecessary for me to explain at length to your Excellency and your fellow-archons, what sentiments are excited in my breast by the two decrees which now lie before me. I can only send up fervent prayers to the Almighty Ruler, that he would be pleased to bestow upon you and me his divine aid, that we may attain to the end of those long and bloody calamities which Greece hath supported, and still does support, in hopes of working out her regeneration. For the present, brethren, I shall limit myself to pointing out to you the conduct I have followed, and the extent of the few small offerings I have been able to dedicate to my country. When I learned the catastrophe of Athens, the utter poverty of the Provisional Government, and the necessity it felt for negotiating a loan in the Ionian Islands to meet its urgent temporary wants, I gave but one reply to these gloomy tidings: I sent to my brother L.2000 sterling, the remains of my private fortune, and my whole substance, desiring him to invest it in the loan, if such a transaction could be effected, or otherwise to pay over the sum to the Provisional Government of Greece. At the same time, I exhorted all Greeks in easy circumstances, who were living abroad, to imitate my example.

These steps of mine were not fruitless; and the Provisional Government should now be able to face the most indispensable public charges, for a season at least: I say for a season, because, under favour of Divine Providence, I trust it will soon receive more important succours. In order that these succours may produce a salutary and vivifying effect, they ought to be employed in accomplishing the two following objects:—relieving Greece from the isolated position in which she is placed, and connecting her with the first powers of Europe—and enabling the government to arrange the internal affairs of the state, until the period arrives when the Greeks shall, by their own means, suffice for their own salvation. These two great points occupy, and will continue to occupy, my attention; neither shall I enjoy the happiness of seeing you until after I have visited Paris. I hope, with the blessing of God, to provide assistance for you, and that the Greek nation will give me the faculty of treating on its most essential interests with the mediating courts. I will not lose a moment, for the life or death of Greece may depend upon the turn of a day. Doubtless futurity is in the hand of Providence, but we must confess, Brethren, that you can greatly conduce to an amelioration, which (be assured) will take place, if you all, devoting yourselves to the principles of our blameless faith, labour, some in arms, not only with zeal and courage, but also obedience, others administering the government for the ends of public, not private utility, without respect to persons. Here I conclude my discourse, and leave to your wisdom the care of the weighty charge laid upon you. I am ready to do my part in bearing the burden, but I cannot share in the responsibility till we shall have conferred together, and inspired mutual confidence, such as I desire to exist between us.

Accept, I beseech you, affectionate salutations from the bottom of my heart, and assurances of my esteem.

(Signed) JOHN CAPODISTRIAS.

Dated London, $\frac{14}{26}$ *of August,* 1827.

So obscure, feeble, and perplexed is this epistle, so much like the penmanship of a rhetorician of the Lower Empire, that some readers may be apt to blame the translator; however, an inspection of the Count's letter in Greek, will prove that it has been faithfully rendered, and that the original is still more confused and redundant.

" Πρὸς τὸν ἐξοχώτατον Πρόεδρον τῆς Γ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἐθνικῆς Συνελεύσεως κύριον Γεώργιον Σισίνην. κτλ. κτλ.

" Ἐξοχώτατε κύριε!

" Πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, τὴν στιγμὴν, καθ' ἣν ἔμελλα νὰ ἀναχωρήσω ἀπὸ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν τῆς Ῥωσσίας, ἔλαβον διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου τὰς παρὰ τῆς ἐξοχότητός της ὁμοῦ καὶ τῶν κυρίων ἀντιπροσώπων παραστατῶν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους πιμφθείσας μοι ἀγγελλίας, διὰ τῶν ὁποίων πρὸς πολλήν μου τιμὴν μ' ἐκοινοποιήσατε δύο ψηφίσματα, τὸ μὲν ἀναγορεύον με Κυβερνήτην τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τὸ δὲ περιποιοῦν μοι τὴν πληρεξουσιότητα νὰ συμφωνήσω δάνειον ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ ἔθνους.

" Ἀπὸ τὸν Μάϊον ἀκόμη μετὰ τὴν εἰς Πετρούπολιν ἄφιξίν μου, εἶχα μάθει ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἐφημερίδων καὶ ἔκ τινων γραμμάτων ἰδιωτέρων ταύτην τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς τόσον τιμητικῆς, καὶ τόσον ἐπισήμου ἐμπιστοσύνης, τὴν ὁποίαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος ἔδειξε παντόμως εἰς ἐμέ.

" Δὲν κρίνω ἀναγκαῖον νὰ ἐκφράσω πρὸς τὴν ἐξοχότητά σας, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κυρίους αὐτῆς συνάρχοντας, ὁποῖα αἰσθήματα μοὶ ἐμπνέουσι τὰ ψηφίσματα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰ ὁποῖα ἔχω πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου.

" Ἀναπέμπω μόνον τὰς ὑγιαρεδίους μου εὐχὰς πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον παντοκράτορα, διὰ νὰ καταπέμψῃ ἐξ ὕψους καὶ εἰς ἐσᾶς, κύριοι, καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν τὴν θείαν του δύναμιν, ὥστε νὰ φθάσωμεν τὸ τέλος τῶν μακρῶν καὶ αἱματοσταγῶν ταλαιπωριῶν, τὰς ὁποίας καὶ ὑπέφερε, καὶ εἰσέτι ὑποφέρει τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γένος, ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς ἀνορθώσεώς του. Πρὸς σᾶς δὲ, ἀδελφοὶ, ὅσον κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἀρκοῦμαι μόνον νὰ ἀποδώσω λογαριασμὸν τῶν ὅσων ἔπραξα (ἂν καὶ μικρὰ, καὶ ὀλίγα) μέχρι σήμερον, καὶ νὰ σᾶς παραστήσω ἐν λόγοις ὅλην τὴν ἔκτασιν τῆς καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀφοσιώσεώς μου εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. Ὅτε ἔμαθον τὴν κατασφορὰν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ τὴν χρηματικὴν στενοχωρίαν τῆς προσωρινῆς Διοικήσεως τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ τὴν λυπηρὰν ἀνάγκην, ἀπὸ τῆς ὁποίας ἠδυσήθη νὰ προσδράμῃ εἰς τὰς Ἰονικὰς νήσους, ζητοῦσα δάνειον, ὅσον νὰ περισθῇ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δι' ὀλίγας μόνον ἡμέρας τὰς ἀναγκαίας δαπάνας· πρὸς ταῦτα ὅλα τὰ θλιβερὰ ἀκούσματα μίαν μόνον ἀπόκρισιν ἔκαμα. Ἔστειλα πάραυτα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν μου τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῆς μετρίας μου καταστάσεως, τὸν ὑπεχρέωσα νὰ συμμεθέξῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τὸ δάνειον, ἂν τὸ δάνειον λάβῃ ἔκβασιν, εἰδὲ μὴ, νὰ παρακαταθέσῃ εἰς χεῖρας τῆς προσωρινῆς Διοικήσεως ἓξ χιλιάδας λιρῶν στερλίνων, τὴν μόνην χρηματικήν μου περιουσίαν, τὴν ὁποίαν καθυπέβαλον εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν της.

" Συγχρόνως ἔσπευσα νὰ παρακαλέσω ἐνθέρμως καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἐν ξενιτείᾳ εὐκαταστάτους Ἕλληνας νὰ ἀκολουθήσωσι τοῦτο τὸ παράδειγμα, καὶ νὰ σᾶς προσφέρωσι συνδρομήν τινα.

" Ταῦτά μου τὰ κινήματα ἀπέβησαν καρποφόρα, καὶ ἡ προσωρινὴ Διοίκησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος θέλει εἶναι εἰς στάσιν νὰ θεραπεύσῃ ὅσον πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τὰς μᾶλλον κατεπειγούσας χρείας της· λέγω ὅσον πρὸς τὸ παρὸν, διότι ἐλπίζω ὅτι θεία συνάρσει, καὶ διὰ τῆς φρονήσεώς σας τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος θέλει λάβει ὅσον οὔπω ἰσχυροτέραν βοήθειαν. Αὕτη δὲ ἡ βοήθεια εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ νὰ ἀποβῇ ζωογόνος καὶ σωτήριος, πρέπει νὰ ἔχῃ σκοποὺς δύο. Πρῶτον πρέπει νὰ ἐξάξῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τὴν ὀλεθρίαν της

ἀπομόνωσιν, καὶ νὰ τὴν βάλῃ εἰς σχέσιν μὲ τὰς πρώτας τῆς Εὐρώπης δυνάμεις· δεύτερον, πρέπει νὰ τὴν προμηθεύσῃ τὰ μέσα, διὰ τῶν ὁποίων νὰ ὑπάρχῃ καὶ ν' ἀντέχῃ, σταθερῶς ἀμυνομένη, ἕως οὗ ἡ Διοίκησίς της νὰ δυνηθῇ νὰ βάλῃ τάξιν εἰς τὰ ἐσωτερικὰ τοῦ γένους πράγματα, καὶ νὰ τὸ φέρῃ εἰς κατάστασιν, ὥστε νὰ ἐξαρκῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς νὰ σώζωσιν.

" Εἰς ταῦτα τὰ δύο μεγάλα συμφέροντα τῆς πατρίδος, ὁλοψύχως καὶ ἐξαιρέτως ἐνασχολοῦμαι, καὶ θέλω ἀκόμη ἐνασχοληθῇ, οὐδὲ θέλω ἔλθῃ πρότερον νὰ σᾶς ἀπολαύσω, πρὶν περάσω ἀπὸ τὸ Παρίσιον.

" Ἐὰν ὁ Θεὸς εὐλογῇ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς τοὺς ἀγῶνάς μου, καθὼς τοὺς εὐλόγησε μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἐλπίζω ὅτι θέλω σᾶς προφθάσει ἔτι ἐνωρίτερα, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος, ἐν ᾧ θέλω ἐνεργεῖ νομίμως τὰ καθήκοντα τοῦ προσκαλουμένου μοι ἐπισήμου ἐπαγγέλματος, θέλει μοὶ δώσει τὴν δύναμιν νὰ διευθετήσω καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων συμβιβασμῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος μετὰ τῶν Αὐλῶν, ὅσαι θέλουν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μεσολαβήσει.

" Δὲν θέλω χάσει οὐδὲ στιγμὴν, διότι ὁ καιρὸς ἀπὸ τὴν μίαν ἕως τὴν ἄλλην ἡμέραν δύναται νὰ ἀποφασίσῃ περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸ περὶ ζωῆς, ἢ περὶ θανάτου πρόβλημα. Εἶναι ἀναμφίβολον ὅτι πᾶσα τοῦ μέλλοντος μεταβολὴ πρέπει ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ, πλὴν πρέπει νὰ ὁμολογήσωμεν ὅτι στέκει καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν σας, ἀδελφοὶ, νὰ κάμετε διὰ τῆς θείας συνεργείας τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολὴν τῶν πραγμάτων. Καὶ θέλει γένει, νὰ εἶσθε βέβαιοι, ὅταν ἀφοσιωμένοι ὅλως διόλου εἰς τῆς ἀμωμήτου ἡμῶν πίστεως τὰς ἀναλλοιώτους ἀρχὰς, ἐργάζεσθε εἰλικρινῶς καὶ ἀνυδότως καὶ ὁμοφρόνως τὸ ἔργον τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας, οἱ μὲν, ὁπλιζόμενοι καὶ ὑπερμαχοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ὄχι μόνον ἀνδρείως καὶ ὁλοψύχως, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲ παντελῆ πειθαρχίαν καὶ ὑπακοὴν εἰς τὰς διαταγὰς τῶν ἀρχηγῶν, οἱ δὲ, διοικοῦντες τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς πατρίδος, δι' αὐτὴν τὴν πατρίδα, οὐχὶ δὲ, ἄπαγε, ὑπέρτεινος, ἢ κατά τινος προσώπου, οὐδὲ πρὸς τοῦτο, ἢ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο ζλίπτοντες τὸ ἰδιαίτερον συμφέρον.

" Παύω τὸν λόγον ἐδῶ, καὶ ἀφίνω τὴν φροντίδα εἰς τὴν φρόνησίν σας, καὶ εἰς τὸν πατριωτισμόν σας, νὰ συλλογισθῆτε τὸ μέγα βάρος τῆς τῶν ἔργων σας εὐθύνης, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ὑπόκεισθε.

" Ἀναδέχομαι τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ νὰ συμμερισθῶ μαζί σας τοῦτο τὸ βάρος, πλὴν δὲν ἐκεῖ καὶ νὰ ἐπαναλάβω ὅτι δὲν θέλω δυνηθῇ νὰ συμμεθέξω ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάρεξ ἀφοῦ ἐνταμωθῶμεν, καὶ συνομιλήσωμεν, καὶ λάβω ἀπὸ μέρους σας ὅλην τὴν ἐμπιστοσύνην, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐπιθυμῶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς νὰ σᾶς ἐμπνύσω.

" Δεχθῆτε, σᾶς παρακαλῶ, τοὺς ἐγκαρδίους ἀσπασμούς μου, συνωδευμένους μὲ πόθον ψυχῆς, καὶ μὲ πᾶσαν τιμὴν καὶ ὑπόληψιν πρὸς τὰ ἀξιότιμα ὑποκείμενά σας.

" Λονδῖνον, τῇ 14 (26) Αὐγούστου, 1827.

" Ἰω. Καποδίστριας."

(No. II.)—*Letter from Petro Bey to the Governor of Greece, Count John Capodistria.*

EXCELLENT SIR,

ALTHOUGH I have already written to you, in reply to your letter of August the 19th (O.S.) from London, yet burning with a desire to see you assume the reigns of government in Greece one hour sooner, and perceiving that cannot happen so speedily as we wish, my only consolation is in addressing you, and being thought worthy of receiving your answers, until that moment of perfect joy arrives, the sure termination of those calamities which war and revolution bring upon nations. Although the history of the world constantly displays to us similar calamities, yet no man can form to himself a lively idea of them, except he hath really run in the stadium of revolution and war; he then discovers that such misfortunes would be fewer and lighter, were it not for the evil propensities of certain individuals, who subvert and destroy those very classes, without whose zealous concurrence neither the revolution nor the war could have ever had a beginning. Excellent sir! I have the honour to submit to you the following expressions, begging you to listen graciously, and firmly to rely on their truth:—I. An assurance of the entire devotion of all my family and dependants to the laws of the nation and your excellency's commands:—II. The positive engagement, that I and my house will shed the last drop of our blood for those laws and commands:—III. My promise, that if a son or brother of mine fall off from his allegiance, even then I will myself execute your orders based upon the laws.* Excellency! these sentiments of ours are not of to-day, but of old date, although circumstances have often hindered our manifesting them in the way we wished. Finally, praying from my heart for your happy journey to the Hellenic soil, as is befitting the vast and deserved consideration you enjoy in Europe, and tending to the comfort and gladness of the whole nation, I remain, with the utmost respect,

The citizen most obsequious to your commands,

(Signed) PETROS MAVROMIKHALIS.

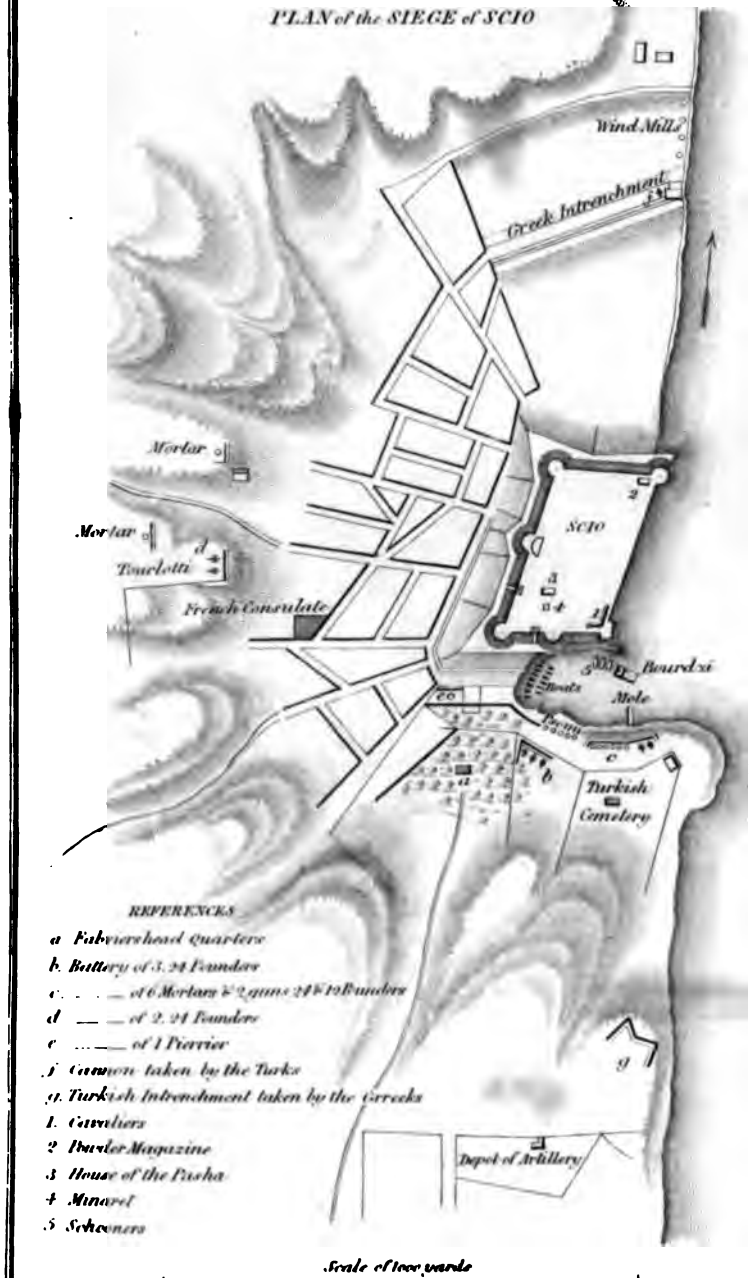
Dated Egina, October $\frac{15}{27}$, 1827.

* A son and brother of the Bey slew Capodistria.

CHAP. IV.

Second invasion and siege of Chios by the insurgents under Colonel Fabvier.

AMONG the various projects set on foot by the Greeks, after every overture of the allied powers tending towards a pacification had been rejected by the Porte, one of the most considerable was the conquest of Chios, undertaken by some Sciote merchants established in Syra, partly from motives of patriotism, and still more as a lucrative speculation. Five years of tranquillity had, to a certain degree, effaced the remembrance of the dreadful calamities which overwhelmed that beautiful island in 1822; the best quarters of the city lay yet in ruins, and the once splendid villas in its vicinity were deserted and roofless; but many Sciotes, tired of exile and poverty, having returned and rebuilt their villages, a Christian population of 22,000 souls was settled in the country, and had resumed its former habits of industry. Mastic was cultivated as before the revolution, and so copious were the productions of the soil, that great wealth seemed likely to accrue even from its temporary occupation. An Epitropie, or commission, being formed at Syra, under the auspices of Scaramanga, Ralli, Psycha, &c. (managing partners of the principal mercantile houses there,) applied to Colonel Fabvier, offering to furnish him with the means required for conquering their native isle, on condition that the local administration and perception of the revenue should be assigned to themselves. Fabvier readily closed with a proposition which, in all respects,


PLAN of the SIEGE of SCIO
Wind Mills
Greek Intrenchment
Mortar
Mortar
Scio
Tourlotti
French Consulate
Boats
Mole
Ferry
Turkish Cemetery
REFERENCES
a Fabvier's head quarters
b Battery of 3. 24 Pounders
c ... of 6 Mortars & 2 guns 24 & 12 Pounders
d ... of 2. 24 Pounders
e ... of 1 Pierrier
f Cannon taken by the Turks
g Turkish Intrenchment taken by the Greeks
1. Cavaliers
2 Powder Magazine
3 House of the Pasha
4 Minaret
5 Schooners
Depot of Artillery
Scale of 1000 yards

exactly suited him, inasmuch as it promised resources for the maintenance of his regulars, whom he could not otherwise have kept together, since the government gave him nothing, and the funds of the Philhellenic committees, on which he had drawn largely, were inadequate longer to bear the expense. Having perfectly re-organized his corps at Methana, and rendered it more efficient than ever, he prepared to lead into the field three battalions of infantry, amounting to 700 bayonets, 200 troopers (of whom only 60 were mounted), and 80 gunners, with a materiel consisting in two thirteen-inch and six eight-inch mortars, one pierrier,* one howitzer, six twenty-four-pounder guns, and three six-pounders, in addition to an auxiliary force of from 2000 to 3000 Roumeliotes and Sciotes, assembled at Damala and Syra: however, the number of irregulars that actually served under him in this expedition never exceeded 1500. Several youths belonging to the first Chian families accompanied him as volunteers. From Egina the Executive council sent Gearakes to signify its approbation of the design, and hint at the probability of future pecuniary aid; notwithstanding which, it had the baseness to disavow the Colonel's acts when expostulated with by the French admiral. No one advocated the scheme more warmly than Cochrane; the previous misunderstanding betwixt his lordship and Fabvier appeared to be forgotten, and the former engaged to second the land-forces with the national squadron that he commanded. There was still one obstacle to be surmounted, the displeasure of the allied admirals, who, in conformity with the tenor of their instructions prescribing a cessation of hostilities, despatched Captain Le Blanc and the Russian diploma-

* Pierriers are great mortars, of the bore of eighteen inches, intended to throw from a short distance, and with very small charges of powder, barrowfulls of stones into places besieged.

tist Timoni to intimate at Egina, Syra, and Methana, as well to the Greek government as the Sciote commission and Fabvier, that they would not be permitted to invade Chios. But the insurgents, for reasons exposed in the foregoing chapter, evaded discussion on this head, while they continued their operations; and as Ibrahim's rashness and the battle of Navarin changed the whole face of the question, no direct opposition was made to their proceedings. In the middle of September they adopted the preliminary measure of blockading the island, which depended upon the coast of Asia for corn and cattle: three Spezziote twelve-gun brigs executed this duty, and, in conjunction with a swarm of mistiks and freebooting craft, interrupted all communication with the continent, and disquieted the Anatolian Moslems. Yussuf Pasha, governor of Scio, a resolute old man, divining the enemy's intentions, strenuously exerted himself in preparing to defend his castle, a large fortress of an irregular four-sided figure, with bastions at the angles, and moats into which the sea-water can be introduced: eighty pieces of cannon covered the ramparts, and its eastern front is enfiladed by a burj, or insular fort, distant 150 yards from the body of the place. His garrison was composed of 400 regular infantry of the new formation, 700 Anatolians and Arnauts, and 150 artillerymen, and he had, moreover, a flotilla of two schooners and two smaller armed vessels, which were not by any means strong enough to meet the Spezziote brigs. From Smyrna, reinforcements of troops marched down to Tchesmè, ready to seize the first favourable opportunity of passing the strait.

On the 21st of October, Fabvier sailed from Methana with his three battalions and company of artillery, shaping his course for Psarra, which he designated as the point of rendezvous. Six Psarrian brigs and a

quantity of boats having united there, on the 26th, with the Spezziote cruisers, he proceeded towards Scio, and remained in sight of its coast until the morning of the 28th, when ten brigs and several mistiks and barks approached the strand of Kalimathia. The Pasha detached a great part of his garrison under the Sakiz Emini, superintendent of the mastic villages, to prevent a disembarkation; nevertheless, in the afternoon the Greeks landed without difficulty, the Turks making but a sorry resistance, and abandoning their intrenchments on the beach. Pressed in their retrograde movement by the Roumeliote Pallikars, the Ottoman regulars once halted and formed a square; but, being assailed on all sides by a dropping fire of tirailleurs, quickly fled in confusion. Fabvier's battalions cut off the retreat of some of the enemy's parties, and among others that of the Sakiz Emini, who, unable to gain the town, threw himself, with sixty Albanians, into a tower, held out bravely for two days, and then surrendered at discretion. According to the official report transmitted to Egina, thirty-six Greeks and above an hundred Turks were killed and wounded on the 28th. Next morning the insurgents advancing to the town, on that and the following day beat the Mussulmans out of it, shutting them up in the castle, whence they briskly cannonaded the houses, which the Greek soldiers were gutting with their usual rapacity. Most of the Christian inhabitants took shelter in the residences of the European agents, who requested a safeguard from Fabvier, which he granted, but not until after the Austrian consulate had been already pillaged. He had much trouble in persuading his troops to respect the inviolability of those asylums,—a thing that ought not to surprise us, if we advert to the discreditable recollections of 1822, and consider that the English consul committed a shameful breach of the neutrality he and

his colleagues were invoking, by harbouring in his dwelling some armed Turks, who from thence shot five Greeks. By using his personal influence, the colonel prevailed upon their comrades not to exact summary vengeance; but he wrote to the consul of France, that if satisfaction was not given, he would storm the British agent's house.

Lord Cochrane remained at Poros, waiting for a contingent of Psarrian seamen (that never came) until the 27th, when he put to sea, with the Hellas and the Hydra corvette, commanded by Captain Crosbie, who had lately brought out from England the steamer Enterprise. On the 29th the admiral lay to off Syra, and the arrival of fifty Hydriote sailors having completed the corvette's complement of men, prosecuted his voyage in the evening, next day entered the channel of Scio, receiving a salute from the insurgent squadron, and anchoring before the fort, at a distance of near three miles, fired a few shot, which the enemy returned. In the afternoon he hoisted the allied flags at his mast-heads, above that of Turkey, and honoured them with a salvo of twenty-one guns, in order to announce to the Mohammedans the event of Navarin, and thereby induce them to capitulate: however, Yussuf Pasha was not to be thus easily frightened. Two officers, sent ashore by the admiral, found Fabvier in the highest spirits, delighted with the bravery of his men and the success of his operations, which procured him entire possession of the island, except its citadel, a vast booty, and 120 prisoners, several of them persons of note. These he treated with extreme generosity, setting at liberty the Sakiz Emini; and his conduct in that particular was imitated even by the privates of his corps, who restored to the Turkish officer his watch and money, of which they had plundered him. Always too sanguine in his hopes, the colonel asserted,

that the fortress could not possibly hold out for fourteen days, and therefore put a negative upon Cochrane's proposal to destroy with Congreve rockets the Ottoman flotilla in the port. His lordship's stay at Scio was very brief, not exceeding five or six days: at the time he ascribed his hurried departure to a proclamation of the allied admirals; but the true cause was disgust at the arrogance of Fabvier, who, wishing to monopolize the triumph, said plainly, that one of them must go away.

At dawn of the 31st, five mortars were landed from the frigate, the Burj and the enemy's vessels firing smartly on the boats that brought them on shore. Immediately afterwards, Captain Gindre, and the Bavarian lieutenant, Schneizlein, (both of the artillery,) examining the ground, chose for the position of their mortar-battery a spot called Psomi, where a dike running along the sea formed a natural parapet for screening workmen. Before night their platforms were laid, and several apertures pierced in a wall which flanked the battery, and served as a traverse to mask the powder-magazine. The five pieces being placed, Fabvier ordered the bombardment to commence at midnight, his band striking up a martial air; the garrison answered the fire without the least effect, and after sixty shells had been thrown, want of ammunition obliged the besiegers to desist.

November 1.—A strong wind compelled the Greek squadron to weigh, and stand to the north under the lee of the land. As nothing could be disembarked, the insurgents employed themselves in adjusting their platforms. The enemy cannonaded all day from the Burj and flotilla; and this wanton waste of powder showed that they had no fear of its failing them.

Nov. 2.—The storm continuing, hindered any intercourse with the shipping. Gindre and Schneiz-

lein, reconnoitring within musket range the opposite face of the castle, remarked that the parapet was crowned with gabions, and the embrasures masked by a wooden blindage. The Greek irregulars had barricaded the street leading to it, and established interior communications, by breaking through the party walls of the houses, which were left to them, the citizens having withdrawn into the country. Two guns (a twenty-four and a twelve-pounder) were planted by the side of the mortar battery, so as to bear upon the Burj and flotilla, whose fire endangered the boats in their passage to and from the shipping: a thirteen-inch mortar was likewise conveyed to the battery. In the evening, the besiegers received a supply of powder and shells, which they filled without delay.

Nov. 3.—In the morning, they opened a cannonade and bombardment from two guns and six mortars, and by discharging 200 shells, and 100 round shot, silenced the fire of the Burj, and sunk a schooner. A pierrier was placed alongside of the thirteen-inch mortar, but the ignorance of the officer appointed to manage it rendered that piece unavailing, and he soon spoiled it altogether by endeavouring to shoot from it thirteen-inch shells. Fabvier prepared a fire-raft to burn the enemy's vessels; the moon, however, shone too clear for his making the attempt then; and ultimately the Pasha saved him the trouble, by scuttling his flotilla on the 13th, and adding the crews to his garrison.

Nov. 4.—Another thirteen-inch mortar was landed. A more accurate reconnoissance convinced the besiegers that it was impossible to enfilade the castle's three land fronts, because their lines of prolongation either lost themselves in ravines, or were hidden by houses and gardens. The height of Tourlotti, to the west of the town, and distant about 700 yards from the fort, appeared the best situation for raising a bat-

tery to play upon the curtain of the principal face, and he minaret of the Mosque, whence the enemy overlooked the trenches, and annoyed the workmen with musketry.

Nov. 5.—As there was a void space of 200 or 300 yards to the north of the place betwixt the last houses and the sea, the colonel ordered a ditch to be dug across it, and assigned its guard to the Chians. He sent in a written summons to Yussuf Pasha, who replied only by redoubling his fire.

Nov. 6.—Two twenty-four pounders were brought ashore, and the artillery officers traced the battery of Tourlotti. The Sciote commission furnished labourers, who, being cheered by Fabvier's presence, carried thither the ordnance, gabions, and fascines, ere night closed in.

Nov. 7.—By daybreak such progress had been made, that the besiegers began to lay the mortar beds: unluckily, a crowd of Pallikars, sauntering about, and idly looking on, attracted the attention of the besieged, who quickly dispersed them by a shower of cannon-balls, and put a stop to the work, for a shot coming in at an embrasure terrified the pioneers; they cast themselves flat on the ground, and could not be induced to rise. In the evening, bombs were thrown from Psomi; and a sharp musketry fire, interchanged between the garrison and the Greek troops in the fossé, gave reason to apprehend a sortie, but none took place.

Nov. 8.—The ordnance having been mounted at Tourlotti during the night, this day was spent in transporting ammunition, and getting ready carcasses for the mortars: the colonel intrusted the direction of the pieces to a Constantinopolitan officer, and resolved to remain and superintend in person a general cannonade and bombardment, commanded for the evening. After

the first rounds, a conflagration blazed out in the castle, and was not subdued for some hours. In other respects, the battery of Tourlotti, badly directed, did not produce the expected results, especially with regard to overturning the minaret: the officer in charge of it knew nothing of his profession, and the gunners constantly pointed too high.

Nov. 9.—As the position of the eight-inch mortars was evidently faulty, they were removed 100 yards farther back, behind the ruins of a house. At sunset, all the batteries opened their fire; and the enemy returning it briskly and well, destroyed every embrasure at Psomi. A shot killing a beast of burden, the muleteers fled, and there was no possibility of bringing up ammunition. In the course of the next night the embrasures were re-established.

Nov. 10.—Shells were discharged in the afternoon, and the cannon played upon the Burj, where the besieged had replaced artillery, which was, however, once more dismounted. Practice had considerably improved the gunnery of the Turks; during the two last days they struck three of the Greek twenty-four pounders, but without rendering them unserviceable. The French corvette, Pomone, anchored in the roads; and her commander, Monsieur de Reverseaux, waited upon Fabvier, and in Admiral de Rigny's name invited him to evacuate the island: this the colonel positively refused to do. Many persons were of opinion that he ought to have embraced so specious a pretext for giving up an enterprise wherein he was sure to fail, on account of the defective quality of his artillerymen, and the little chance of being able to assault with such troops as his, even though he should succeed in making a practicable breach, which did not seem at all likely, since he had already consumed most of his ammunition.

Nov. 11.—The mortar battery at Tourlotti was finished, and two bombs, fired by way of essay, proved that the spot was well chosen. An Austrian schooner of war (La Fenice), came into the roads, and by signalizing, alarmed the insurgents, who had information that 1500 Moslems were collected at Tchesmè. She sailed away in the ensuing night.

Nov. 12, and 13.—Torrents of rain interrupted the labours of the besiegers, although a few shells were thrown from time to time.

Nov. 14.—The wind freshening, forced the squadron to get under weigh. A captain of Pallikars having crept into the ditch of the castle, in order to hold a parley with the Albanians, the latter cut off his head, and sent it back to his friends. At night the Greeks renewed their bombardment, on observing in the Burj fire signals, intended, no doubt, to give notice to the opposite coast that the passage was clear: 150 Turks from Tchesmè, crossing in three barks, entered the place.

Nov. 15.—The imperial schooner appeared again, anchored, and manned a launch, which pulled into the harbour. Nettled at this insolence, Fabvier ordered Schneizlein to discharge bombs, so as that they might burst in the air above the Fenice: hardly were three let off, ere the Austrian cut his cable, and went to sea, leaving his boat and anchor; but he recovered them, with the colonel's permission, a few days after.

Nov. 16.—An English brig-of-war arriving, her captain delivered to Fabvier a message, importing that the allied admirals wished him to quit the isle: he answered that he could not comply without an order from the Greek government.

Nov. 17.—Colonel Almeyda came from Methana with 200 men, and 60 horses belonging to the regular cavalry; the transport that conveyed them, had on

board also three twenty-four pounders, and a stock of cannon-balls. Fabvier then resolved to point these guns against the Burj, dismantle and assault it with armed boats. Unluckily for him, at this period he quarrelled with the only scientific officer in his camp (Schneizlein), who, in consequence, asked and obtained leave to depart. Ten days were employed in preparing a new battery, which was completed on the 28th. In the intermediate space of time arrived the famous miner, Costa, at the head of forty men; and several guns and mortars, purchased at Nauplia from Grivas, by the Sciotes, were brought on shore. The besiegers had already more artillery than they knew how to manage, and it was impossible for them to undermine works whose foundations were below the level of the sea.

Nov. 29.—The battery of twenty-four pounders commencing its fire, laid the Burj entirely open: Fabvier proposed to storm it next night; but his boats not being ready, the assault was deferred for some days. Meanwhile, the insurgents pushing their approaches towards the body of the place, lodged themselves behind an intrenchment on the edge of the counterscarp; but their mining operations did not advance, owing to the quantity of water in the fossé. However, the garrison, becoming uneasy, sallied, in the night of December the 2d, towards the north of the fort, where the Chians were posted; these last gave way, without firing a shot, abandoning to the enemy their tambourias, the mouth of the mine, and the miners whom it was their business to defend. So suddenly and quickly did the affair pass, that had not a Philhellene given the alarm, nothing would have been heard of it at headquarters until the following morning. Succours marched too late, for the Turks, who did not lose a man, had re-entered the castle, after filling up Costa's well,

and killing or taking several miners; dragging away with them a six-pounder they found in one of the redoubts. Desirous to retaliate this affront by surprising the Burj, Fabvier despatched, at midnight of the 3d, four boats, manned with a few Philhellenes, 50 regular soldiers, and 100 volunteers drawn from the irregular companies: the former went on with courage and in silence; but the Pallikars hesitated, and made so much noise, that they awakened the Moslems, who plied them with round shot and musketry. As it was too dark to take aim, their projectiles missed the boats, although, by affecting the nerves of a Greek officer commanding, they effectually defeated the projected assault. The colonel had experienced Europeans about him, and yet he generally intrusted any detached service of importance to his Grecian officers, most of whom were absolutely worthless, unless when under his own immediate eye. If the insurgents had carried the Burj, Scio might perhaps have fallen, because its possession would have precluded the communication of the besieged with the Asiatic shore, whence they received almost every night supplies of one kind or other. Henceforth, the siege was converted into a blockade, Fabvier trusting to famine for reducing the fortress; being at the same time perfectly aware, that no naval force could during the long nights of winter strictly watch a narrow channel, swept by stormy winds, his last resource was, to destroy by a series of bold adventures the enemy's small craft and magazines amassed on the mainland. Learning that the Pasha of Smyrna was augmenting the number of his troops at Tchesmè, he determined to undertake, in person, an expedition against that seaport; and embarking with the Philhellenes, and his first battalion of about 250 firelocks, in the evening of the 17th, on board a large Psarrian brig, accompanied by two other vessels (one of them

the brulot of Canaris), stood off and on a part of the night, anchored half a league from Tchesmè, and landed his soldiers in good order. Taking up a position near the beach with half the battalion, he ordered the rest to march upon the town in two columns, but not to attack until four boats, commanded by Europeans and appointed with select crews, of twenty men to each, should have entered the harbour, and set fire to the shipping. Shrouded by thick darkness, the volunteers rowed vigorously into the midst of the port, and in spite of musketry from the houses, and grenades from the castle, boarded and captured two sacolevas laden with provisions for Scio: they could bring away only one of their prizes, the other being aground. If the Philhellenes in the boats had been furnished with combustibles, they might have burned all the Ottoman vessels, amounting to ten; but that portion of duty had been left to the bruloteers of Canaris, who were considered more expert at it, and they never went in. Captain Ducroz, a French officer, that had gone through the blockade of Athens, and distinguished himself on this occasion, was killed on the day after his return to Scio, by a shot from the Burj. Although the expedition was not crowned with so much advantage as the colonel anticipated, it had at least a strong moral influence on the minds of the Asiatic Turks, who, finding that they were not safe in their own havens, renounced for the present their boasted intention of crossing the strait, and raising the siege.

Intelligence transpired in January, that Tahir Pasha was assembling for that purpose ships and troops at the Dardanelles; whereupon the Hellenic government sent the Hydra corvette and the brig Sauveur to reinforce the blockading squadron. Fabvier then resolved to sail into the Gulf of Smyrna with the whole of the shipping, his first and second battalions, and as many

irregulars as could be spared from the trenches, in order to seize a depot of live cattle existing near Vourla. Just as he was about to embark (January the 18th), a violent north-easterly tempest, attended with snow, dispersed the Greek vessels, and damaged most of them. Notwithstanding the approved seamanship of her commander, the Sauveur, parting from her anchors, was totally wrecked on the coast of the island: the crew saved their lives by swimming; and Captain Thomas, remaining on board to the last moment, only left her when the hull began to break up. The Hydra got into a neighbouring roadstead, and Canaris's brig, as well as the Spezziote schooner of Libessi, cutting away their masts, rode out the gale. When it abated, and the squadron had undergone some hasty repairs, the colonel, reverting to the incursion he meditated, fixed its execution for the 23d. The night of the 22d passed as quietly as usual, profound silence being interrupted at intervals by the cries of the sentinels, and now and then a straggling cannon-shot, until two hours before day, when all the drums in the castle beat to arms; in another hour this din was hushed, and the alarm of the besiegers had subsided, but at dawn a hot fire of musketry was heard towards the mills occupied by the Sciotes, mingled with shouts of "The Turks are at Tourlotti;" and there indeed they were. Yussuf Pasha having been joined, on the night of the 21st, by 120 Topjees from Tchesmè, planned a grand sortie, and directed 1200 men to hold themselves in readiness to issue forth in three columns; two of these being destined to sally from the principal gate of the fortress, the drawbridges were let down, but the insurgents posted in the opposite tambourias prevented their egress, and preserved Fabvier from a signal defeat by the firmness with which they bore a dense shower of bombs, grape-shot, and musket-balls, rained upon them

from the ramparts. The third column of 500 Arnauts and Asiatic irregulars went out at a small postern, and creeping along the water's edge, reached the foot of the intrenchment, and carried it in an instant, the Sciotes scampering away as they had done on the 2d of December. Thence ascending the bed of a ravine that conducted them to Tourlotti, and making themselves masters with equal facility of the plateau, a church at its top, and the grand battery, which was scarcely guarded, the Mohammedans spiked all the guns except one six-pounder that they turned against the Greeks. The streets were soon full of fugitives escaping into the fields, while Fabvier, commanding a detachment to support the troops engaged at the main gate, put himself at the head of his three battalions, and leading them straight up to Tourlotti, discovered the enemy ranged on its summit, with ten bayraks flying by the side of the captured ordnance. Their first impetuosity having cooled, they were rather disconcerted at observing the exposed situation in which the inaction of the other two columns placed them. Perceiving a certain degree of hesitation in their ranks, the colonel ordered a charge, and his soldiers advancing with intrepidity, the heights were retaken as easily as they had been lost, the Mussulmans refusing the shock, and retiring towards the castle. As they were obliged to traverse narrow and crooked lanes, pursued by the regular corps, and saluted at every turn by volleys from the Pallikars, few of them got into it, and the greater number lay dead at the bottom of the fossé. Seven of their flags were taken, and thirty prisoners, including Ibrahim Aga, who headed the Albanians. Forty Greeks were killed and wounded; Fabvier received a contusion on the knee, which occasioned him in the sequel much pain and confinement; and the Philhellenes regretted the loss of a very brave officer (Mr

Lutchins, an Englishman belonging to the Hanoverian service), who was shot through the temples.* All the insurgent troops behaved well except the Chians, and their conduct was most dastardly.

If the Pasha had delayed his sortie for twenty-four hours, and allowed Fabvier to sail with half the army to the Gulf of Smyrna, as he meant to have done, we may conceive what would have been the result.

After this affair, the Ottomans lay still behind their walls, and the besiegers were busy in devising means to impede the garrison's communication with Anatolia. As they saw that this could not be accomplished by ships of war, the Epitropie wrote to Samos and Syra for armed rowboats. Colonel Heydeck having caused a large gunboat, called the Geneva, to be built at Poros, despatched her to Scio under the command of a Dane named Falsen, who, on the 31st of January, made an attack upon the Burj ; when a cannon-ball striking his craft, she went to the bottom, but he and his men were picked up. On the night of February the 5th, four barks attempting to steal across from Tchesmè were fired into, and driven back by two Greek trattas ; and on the 10th, two Turkish boats, with their cargoes of bread and clothing, were taken in the channel. The transmission of supplies from Asia became more and more precarious, and at the end of February it ceased altogether, the insurgents having moored a sort of floating battery, or armed raft, off the mouth of the port, and out of gun-shot. Then the besieged felt the inroads of famine, and suffered grievously from the ravages of an epidemic disease. However, the besiegers were not in much better circumstances ; discontent and discouragement gained ground amongst them, the

* He was travelling on leave of absence, and had volunteered with the Greeks for a few months.

Sciote commission was for ever at variance with the colonel, and bad weather distressed the troops. During the whole month of December, heavy rains flooded the country, and rendered the streets of the town almost impassable, and these were succeeded in January by a sharp frost, and such a fall of snow, that the oldest inhabitants did not remember so rigorous a winter. The members of the Epitropie having realized large sums by reserving to themselves the commissariat department, sequestrating the crop of mastic, and imposing contributions upon the people, grew careless about providing for the wants of the army; consequently the Pallikars marauded on all sides, and it cost Fabvier a great deal of trouble to shield the villagers from total spoliation. In the beginning of March, insubordination infected the regular corps, the soldiers of the third battalion marching off to a convent, two leagues from the camp, and declaring they would perform no more duty till their arrears were paid; however, an harangue of the colonel sufficed to quell this incipient mutiny. We cannot but admire his steadfast perseverance amidst so many crosses, and when he had frequent opportunities of retreating with honour from the island. Monsieur de Rigny, who wintered at Smyrna, sent in January the brig Palinure with a letter to the Sciote commission, and another to Fabvier, strongly recommending them to abandon a hopeless enterprise undertaken against the will of the allied powers, and stating that the latter would not interfere in their behalf should the Turks come down upon them in force, as it was probable they ultimately would. The colonel replied, that only the direst necessity could ever oblige him to reimbark without subjugating Scio, and calling together the military chiefs, and members of the commission, assured them of his determination to persist to the uttermost. Latterly he had reason to believe that hun-

ger would compel the garrison to surrender; an idea in which he was confirmed by the reports of prisoners, and the conversations of his soldiers with the Arnauts, who told the former that the Pasha could not prolong his resistance above fifteen days. But the Mussulmans were as anxious to relieve their fortress as the insurgents to take it, and dilatory though they were, yet at length, in the very nick of time, they by a well concerted operation effected their object.

Tahir Pasha, who (as we have already mentioned) had escaped from Navarin to Constantinople, was ordered by the Sultan to equip a squadron at the Dardanelles, and combine his efforts with those of the Pasha of Smyrna; and he proceeded to Mitylene (January the 6th), followed by thirteen vessels. Chios being clearly beyond the limits prescribed to Greek hostility, it was impossible for Monsieur de Rigny, with any colour of impartial justice, violently to coerce the measures adopted by the Ottomans for its deliverance: however, as a friend and relation of Fabvier, he did what he could in his favour, contriving by hints and demonstrations to frighten Tahir Pasha, and induce him to return to the Hellespont, under an impression that the allies would impede his progress. After two months had elapsed, the Turks, either better informed regarding the French admiral's real intentions, or resolved to run all risks, resumed their project. As the Chian commission had warning enough of the Porte's design, it requested aid from Count Capodistria, who directed Miaulis to repair in the Hellas to the Asiatic station; he sailed from Poros (March the 1st), but having touched on his way at Skiathus and Skopelos, arrived too late to counteract the enemy's movement. While Hassan Pasha of Smyrna, assisted by the Grand Vizier's Selikhdar, assembled a body of land forces and a flotilla at Tchesmè, Tahir Pasha stood out of the Dardanelles on the morning of

the 5th of March, with a fifty-gun frigate, two corvettes, four brigs-of-war, and a transport. A southerly gale springing up on the same day obliged him to bear up and anchor near the castles, where he lay till the 9th, when the wind becoming fair, he prosecuted his voyage, and on the 12th appeared with five sail in the channel of Scio, one corvette and two brigs having dropped astern, and gone back to Tenedos. In the straits he encountered three Greek brigs, and had a short engagement, the details of which are differently related by the two parties. According to an account published at Smyrna, he fired but a few shot, and tacked on purpose to let the insurgents get away, when he might have sunk or driven ashore at least two of their cruisers: the Hellenes asserted that the Nelson, a Psarrian brig of sixteen guns, fought a good action with his frigate and corvette, was struck by a ball between wind and water, and must have gone down if Canaris had not promptly succoured her. However that be, the Pasha remained master of the channel, and the Turks at Tchesmè immediately went on board their flotilla of fourteen large rowboats, capable of transporting at one trip 800 men, besides a Russian merchant schooner pressed into the service.

The Epitropie and its agents of police and civil administration hurried into the interior of the isle, and then embarked, leaving Fabvier's troops (to whom on that day only quarter rations were distributed) destitute of food, and with no more than three barrels of powder. At dawn of the 13th, the Mohammedans pushed across: six launches, impelled by oars, and carrying 300 men, led the van; the rest of their barks followed under sail, and the fire of the brigs-of-war covered the whole, while the frigate and corvette kept the Psarrian vessels at a respectful distance. Their first attempt to land at St Helena, to the north of the

town, was repulsed by the batteries of the besiegers, which made considerable slaughter amongst them; but the Christians soon expended their ammunition, half the irregulars fled to the hills, and the Turkish boats, steering for the mole, introduced into the castle 2500 men before sunrise of the 14th. At three o'clock on the previous afternoon, all the captains of Pallikars went in a body to Fabvier, and represented to him the unavoidable necessity of raising the siege: he refused to order a retreat; but, perceiving that they were decamping one by one, and that there remained only a handful of regulars, he was forced, much against his inclination, to fall back during the night upon Kalimathia. Neither there nor at Pyrghi could he maintain his ground, because the example of the irregulars, who wandered about sacking the mastic villages, disorganized his battalions; and in the evening he occupied a position at Mesta, on the western coast. From 15,000 to 18,000 Sciotes, scattered along the beach, and dreading a recurrence of the massacres of 1822, bitterly cursed the speculators whose avidity had brought these calamities upon their island. Meeting with no compassion from the Epitropie, or any of their own countrymen, they were deeply indebted to the humanity of Admiral de Rigny, who, on the first intimation of Tahir Pasha's arrival, sailed from Smyrna, with the Trident of seventy-four guns, and the frigate Fleur de Lys, in order to stop, by his presence and intercession, the effusion of blood. Meanwhile the Pasha made sail for the Dardanelles, as soon as he had secured the landing of the troops; and a few hours afterwards, on the 14th, the Hellas hove in sight. Rallying three Psarrian brigs, Miaulis gave chase to the Ottomans, but could not come up with them. Tahir Pasha was unquestionably a man of courage, and if at this juncture he cautiously avoided a naval conflict with the in-

surgents, we must suppose either that he acted under private instructions from the Porte, reluctant farther to irritate the allied powers, or that he was afraid of offending the French admiral, whose vicinity alarmed him, and whose disposition he suspected. Miaulis, returning on the 16th, re-established the maritime blockade, greatly to the annoyance of the Mohammedans in the fort, who had brought little or no provision with them, and expected supplies from the continent. At Mesta the Greeks were starving, and having lost their artillery, and being without ammunition, their situation appeared desperate. Nevertheless, the Epitropie wrote to Fabvier, that the Turks were not nearly so numerous as they had been reported, and that it would be proper for him to march forwards, and, in conjunction with Miaulis, renew the siege. The colonel laughed at this senseless fanfaronade, understanding the true aim of the commission, which was to shift the responsibility of failure upon his shoulders, and perhaps, by leading him to destruction, to get rid of his evidence touching past abuses. Scaramanga's solicitude to deprive him of the means of reimbarking did in fact place both the troops and population in extreme jeopardy, from which Monsieur de Rigny's kindness extricated them. On the 16th, the Trident deposited several hundred fugitives at Tinos, and two days after Captain de Lalande wafted 612 of them to Syra in the Fleur de Lys. If the Turks had vigorously followed their opponents, they might easily have driven them into the sea; but they loitered in the environs of the town, and merely hazarded one slight attack, exchanging a distant fire of musketry with the insurgents across a ravine. His soldiers were now so utterly dejected, that the colonel deemed it prudent to transport them in boats to some small reefs a quarter of a mile from the shore. On the morning of the 22d, seventy-

eight Greek launches and barks sailed away, and next day Fabvier sent a written protest on board the French frigate, declaring that he was the victim of treachery, being left on a barren rock, without food, ammunition, or water. At length the exertions of Monsieur de Lalande overcame the obstacles raised by Scaramanga; vessels came from the neighbouring isles, and the invaders departed, receiving biscuit and water for their voyage to Syra out of the stores of the Fleur de Lys. Fabvier, with 300 officers and wounded men, obtained a passage in that ship; and Miaulis, desisting from his useless blockade at the instance of Admiral de Rigny, conveyed 1200 troops in the Hellas: by the 26th, Chios was completely evacuated. Such was the conclusion of a campaign from which Fabvier promised himself a very different result, and a compensation for former reverses. He certainly displayed, in an eminent degree, the qualifications of an active general and a valiant soldier; but he had to contend against insuperable difficulties, arising from the perfidy of the Sciote commission, the uncommon severity of the weather, the indiscipline of the Pallikars, and inexperience of his Greek officers and gunners. On the whole, the behaviour of the regular corps proved satisfactory; for his battalions, inspired with unbounded admiration of their chief, were every day gaining confidence in themselves: the artillery company alone had twelve men killed. Of the fine train of ordnance employed in the siege, he carried back with him but one howitzer, all the other pieces falling into the hands of the Turks: most of the cavalry horses were saved through the energy of his aide-de-camp, Captain Myhrbergh.* Scaramanga and his

* We gladly seize this opportunity of paying a tribute of applause to Myhrbergh, the best and bravest of the Philhellenes, a Swede by birth, and remarkable alike for his strength, stature, courage, and exemplary moral conduct. He entered the regular cavalry as a simple

associates published wherever they went, that Fabvier had been bribed to withdraw from the island; and when he disembarked at Syra, still lame and suffering from the contusion on his knee, a mob of Sciotes assailed him; but the colonel and his suite drawing their swords, quickly dispersed this canaille. On the 31st of March, Miaulis arrived at Egina, and Fabvier at Methana, whence he immediately set out to present his respects to the new president of Greece, and at the same time to resign the command of his corps.

Unwilling to increase the exasperation of revolted subjects, with whom he was on the point of opening a direct negotiation, the Sultan used his victory with extraordinary mildness; the Ottoman troops at Scio observed an exact discipline, and Yussuf Pasha, dismissing a part of the Arnauts and Anatolian militia, proclaimed a full amnesty, and invited the refugee emigrants, and the peasants concealed in the hills, to reassume undisturbed possession of their houses and lands.

One consequence of the expedition we have been relating was, a protracted lawsuit, in which the litigating parties were, the Hellenic government, Fabvier, and the Epitropie. The total charge incurred for the pay of the army, hire of vessels, and price of provisions and stores, amounted to a million of piastres, and that expenditure was more than covered by the taxes laid upon the people, exclusive of about 200,000 piastres

trooper, at the period of its formation in 1825, and rose, by his own merit, to the rank of captain on the staff, conferred upon him by General Church in 1827. He in Eubœa distinguished himself in a skirmish with the Ottoman horse, had one of his legs shattered at Khaidari by the explosion of a shell, served throughout the winter campaign in Attica, and on the 6th of May swam out to the boats loaded with his arms, not choosing to resign them to the enemy. He was sprung from a most respectable family, and had enjoyed the advantage of an excellent education.

produced by the sale of mastic. This last sum should, according to a mutual agreement, have been divided in equal shares between the regular corps, the navy, and the commission; but the former did not receive above 36,000, and 18,000 were yet due to the troops, as well as two months' pay for February and March, which was never issued. Moreover, the government had advanced to the commission a loan of 6000 dollars, just before the siege was raised. When a balance was finally struck, there appeared a deficit of 16,000 dollars, for which the members of the Epitropie could not account.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK VII.—CHAP. IV.

No. I.—*Letter of Vice-Admiral de Rigny to the Chian Commission.*

GENTLEMEN,—The expedition to Scio, undertaken by private individuals, has been effected in spite of the admonition given to the Greek government by the admirals of the allied powers; an admonition preceded by a message which, in obedience to my orders, Captain Le Blanc communicated to you at Syra, in order to prevent so impolitic an employment of the small military means possessed by Greece. Although, since that period, certain considerations have restrained the admirals from positively intimating to the commission the necessity of suspending its operations, yet its members are mistaken if they suppose the allied forces will oppose any obstacle to the Turks, should they attempt to relieve the fortress and retake the island: in such a case we shall remain neutral. If, notwithstanding, any sudden emergency should render expedient a mediation, backed by an armed force sufficient to guarantee its proposed conditions, you must not delay until the last moment to give me notice of it, that I may have time to take measures.

Dated Vourla, January the 10th, 1828.

(Signed) H. DE RIGNY.

No. II.—*From the same to Colonel Fabvier.*

I have the honour to transmit to you the annexed copy of a letter, which I have just written to the Sciote commission. The assurance of Count Capodistria's speedy arrival will perhaps induce you to reflect how urgently necessary it is to concentrate around the seat of government the corps organized by your care, and which may be so useful in restoring order.

CHAP. V.

Organized System of Greek Piracy—Its Suppression—Occupation of Karabusa by the Allied Forces—Affairs of Crete.

We read in ancient history, that, during the last decay of the Macedonian Empire in Asia, while the kingdom of Syria was rent by civil war, the usurper Tryphon, about the first year of the 159th Olympiad, (140 years before the Christian era,) planted a nest of corsairs at Coracesium, in Cilicia, with a view of harassing the Phœnician subjects of his competitor Demetrius Nicator. This colony is said to have been the original hive of that famous association of Cilician pirates, who became so flourishing as to possess 400 towns and castles, and 1000 armed galleys; infested with predatory fleets the whole surface of the Mediterranean as far as the Pillars of Hercules; sacked the most celebrated temples; ruined the maritime commerce of Italy; carried off Roman prætors in their robes of office; and occasioned a dearth of corn in the Eternal City; until the entire strength of Rome being turned against them, they were subdued by Pompey the Great, seventy-two years after their establishment at Coracesium.

Although the weakness and strife of the later Seleucides, the Jugurthine and Mithridatic wars, the contention of Marius and Sylla, as well as the nature of the southern coast of Asia Minor, and propensity to rapine still inherent in the Karamanian mountaineers, are circumstances sufficient to explain the growth and

prosperity of this vast congregation of robbers, yet historical criticism hath detected another latent cause that continually recruited their ranks; namely, the pride of the Greeks humiliated by foreign conquest, and the hatred most of them nourished towards the domineering republic of Rome. How else can we account for the contumelious cruelty with which they treated such Roman citizens as fell into their hands, or the well attested fact, that many men of birth, wealth, and talents, embarked in their galleys, preferring the life of independent outlaws to that of submissive provincials?

In 1827, a similar system, proceeding from similar causes, (inasmuch at least as the events of the nineteenth century can resemble those which occurred 2000 years ago,) again afflicted the trade of the Mediterranean, and Karabusa was a nursery of pirates that bid fair to rival Coracesium. Owing to its hydrographical configuration, corsairs have always haunted the Archipelago, and it was a part of the duty of the Venetian and Ottoman marines to hunt them out; a duty so negligently performed in recent times, that it chiefly devolved on the Hydriotes and Spezziotes, who, for their own interest, never let slip an opportunity of destroying the mistiks of the Mainatts and other thieves. The confusion that followed the commencement of the revolution was of course favourable to piracy; and, during the winter of 1821-2, a swarm of small craft, manned in considerable proportion by Ionian, Italian, and Dalmatian outcasts, the dregs of the Levant, hovered round the islands. Roused by the capture of two or three merchant vessels, the European squadrons were on the alert, and checked, if they could not altogether cure, the evil. No person of note countenanced the delinquents, and for three years their obscure depredations were little heard of. Disputes,

indeed, frequently arose between the insurgents and the officers commanding the naval forces of neutral powers, but they generally grew out of questions connected with the right of blockade.

However, in 1824 and 1825, the partiality for Turkey evinced by the court of Vienna, and the defamation with which its official journal assailed them, provoked the Greeks to retaliate by aggressions on imperial shipping, and produced, in regard to Austria, a state of things that could neither be termed war nor peace, leading to reciprocal insults, remonstrances, and acts of hostility. The prize-money thus acquired whetting the avidity of the insurgent seamen, their scruples gradually faded away; and after the fall of Messalonghi, and cessation of the English loans, they found it convenient to consider as enemies all who were not their decided partisans. They grumbled at the friendship subsisting betwixt Christian potentates and the Mohammedan Antichrist; exclaimed against the facilities afforded Mehemet Ali for building or buying frigates and corvettes at Toulon, Marseilles, and Leghorn;* and it was a common saying among them, that they were at war with Turkey, Egypt, Barbary, Austria, and France. As their cause appeared hopeless, and dispersion inevitable, each individual was anxious to scrape together what funds he could before flying from his country; and even men of education, who had hitherto borne a high character, yielded to the temptation of fingering illicit gains.

Thus matters going on from bad to worse, they be-

* Their complaints were not without foundation; an intercepted letter from the Viceroy of Egypt's agent at Leghorn stated, that, although the Tuscan government made it a rule not to allow foreign states to build ships of war in its harbours, yet the thing would be connived at, provided they were intended to be used against the Greeks.

ccme at length callous and reckless, pillaging indiscriminately every vessel they were able to master. So many piracies were committed in the spring of 1826, that Admiral de Rigny and Captain Hamilton addressed representations to the Executive body, which emitted a decree, (May the 14th,) prohibiting any Greek ship that did not belong to the national fleet from hoisting the military flag; obliging detached cruisers to provide themselves with regular papers, signed by government or the Navarch, under whose orders they were placed; declaring that armed mistiks, praams, or other small craft, should be deemed pirates, and punished accordingly; and requesting the neutral squadrons to lend their aid towards enforcing the above law. But these regulations proved unavailing, since, in a sea like the Egean, subject to calms, and studded with rocks, it was easy for low light barks to lurk in ambush, dart upon their prey, and evade the pursuit of bulky ships of war, by running into narrow creeks, where their crews could defend themselves with advantage.

In June 1826, Captain Pechel of the British frigate Sybille, endeavouring to cut out some mistiks from a cove in Candia, lost two lieutenants and forty men killed and wounded. At first the straits of Silota, the mouth of the Thermaic Gulf, the channels of Mitylene and Maina, were reckoned peculiarly dangerous; but at the end of the year no distinction could be drawn; the whole expanse of water, from the Dardanelles to Rhodes and Cerigo, being equally the theatre of buccaneering exploits. The Olympians, seated in Skiathos, Skyros, and Skopelos, procuring plenty of wood from Pelion, and disposing at will of the labour of the native shipwrights, equipped a flotilla, openly professed brigandage, set the world at defiance, and let Captain Hamilton understand, that, as they had fortified the landing-places, and could muster 3000 musketeers,

they did not dread a visit from him. When Cochrane accepted the functions of Admiral, he tried to infuse a better spirit into the Hellenic navy; but his reproofs and threatenings were useless; and the vessels composing his fleet, excepting those commanded by European officers, or which were the private property of Miaulis, and a few such honest patriots, despoiled neutrals as shamelessly as the meanest pilferers of the Cyclades. Hydra certainly was the least guilty of the three naval islands; while the Spezziotes rendered themselves notorious for their audacious robberies. In the autumn of 1827, piracy had reached its period of greatest intensity; and it would not perhaps be too much to assert, that one-fourth of the male population of Greece was directly or indirectly engaged in it. For every privateer destroyed, twenty new ones were launched; the shortest voyage from isle to isle was a hazardous undertaking; nay, boats were often rifled in the very port of Poros.

As where rapine prospers, receivers of stolen goods are never wanting, the only profitable branch of business carried on in the Levant for several months was the purchase of plunder, for which marts were opened at Syra and Smyrna. It had long been necessary for merchantmen to sail with convoy, but latterly that sort of protection hardly sufficed, because the Greeks lay in wait for them, skirted their course, boarded some of the vessels during the night, or cut them off when separated from their escort by the accidents of weather. They did not spare their own countrymen a whit more than strangers, and the different nests of thieves occasionally quarrelled; thus the Cretans and Mainatts came to blows, in consequence of the former seizing a rich prize which the latter were carrying into Monemvasia; and a Spezziote captain cruised against the Laconians to avenge an injury they had done him in overhauling a

boat conveying his family to Calamos. Adventurers appertaining to the same community did not interfere with each other, and the smallest Hydriote caieeks passed to and fro unmolested, the strength of their island inspiring respect. If the excesses of the Greek corsairs be weighed against those of the Spanish pirates, who about the same time infested the West Indies, it will appear that amongst the first, crimes of a very deep dye were comparatively rare; and that although instances may be cited of their maltreating, and even murdering passengers and crews, yet they were generally content to strip and dismiss them, whereas the Spaniards constantly put their prisoners to death. This difference, in point of atrocity, was partly owing to the milder character of the Hellenes, and also in some measure to the clemency they experienced in cases wherein they were themselves taken. England, France, and Austria, kept squadrons in the Egean, and it was visited from time to time by Dutch, American, and Sardinian men-of-war: it may therefore be asked, why they did not unite to crush the system at once, and intimidate the freebooters by making severe examples. We might, in reply, repeat what has been already said touching the nature of the seas and coasts, and observe that a service of this description would have required the incessant employment of steamers and gunboats; but an exposition of local difficulties will only solve half the question, and other reasons must be adduced to set in its true light the remarkable lenity shown towards those culprits whom justice sometimes clutched in her talons. Besides that popular sympathy befriended the insurgents, and that a majority of the naval officers whom they were in contact with wished success to their cause, there is no room to doubt, that after the signature of the protocol of St Petersburgh the powers chiefly interested in Oriental affairs w

eager to check the growth of an evil on whose gravity they founded their weightiest argument for the necessity of an intervention. Hence the evident remissness of the most efficient European squadrons, and the continual restitution of vessels that, though clearly guilty of piracy, were absolved by the Admiralty Court at Malta. Such was the opinion of the Greeks themselves, who, in extenuating their misconduct, habitually alleged, that the more depredations they committed, the sooner would England give them their freedom. Hardened by impunity, their insolence knew no bounds; they blockaded Cerigo for weeks together, and while British frigates lay in Corfu and Zante, plundered merchantmen off the northern and southern headlands of those islands. When, however, the negotiation was fairly on foot, and the mediating courts could dispense with pretexts, they had no motive for longer tolerating outrages so detrimental to trade, and which called forth loud and just complaints from the commercial classes. Sir Edward Codrington, on assuming the command of the Mediterranean station, proposed preventive measures to the other admirals and commodores, and in concert with them established a line of cruisers extending from the Gulf of Venice to Smyrna. The good effect of his plan was immediately visible in the destruction of numerous privateering craft, and the seas would have been purged of malefactors, if the vigilance of the English and French fleets had not been diverted to the more important task of suspending hostilities in the East, and watching the Turks and Egyptians. While occupied in fulfilling that duty, Admirals Codrington and De Rigny addressed letters to the government at Egina, penned in austere terms, and announcing that ample satisfaction would be exacted for any future aggression; on the 24th of October, they, with their coadjutor, Count Heyden, reiterated their reproaches

and menaces, (Vide Appendix). As these remonstrances could not be disregarded, the Executive commission published a decree (November the 2d), revoking all letters of marque, and circumscribing the jurisdiction of the Napoli prize court; Cochrane, on his side, manifested a hearty desire to wipe away abuses painful to his feelings, and tending to compromise his honour. But his lordship possessed slender authority; the members of government, as well as their secretary, stood convicted of dabbling in piracy; the battle of Navarin paralysed the allied fleets; and although Admiral de Rigny, who alone remained in the Archipelago, overburdened with cares, did not neglect the mischief, it went on through the winter, neither were efficacious measures adopted for its repression until the beginning of the year 1828.

In Pompey's age, Cilicia was the principal hive of corsairs, and Crete held the second rank; in the annals of modern freebooting the first place must be assigned to the latter.

After the insurgents surprised Karabusa (in August 1825), a great number of Christian families, that had fled from Candia in the preceding year, when the island submitted to the Turks, settled on that rock, in hopes of being able to communicate with the remnant of their countrymen inhabiting the western provinces of Canea, Kissamos, and Selino, and thereby find means of alleviating their destitute condition. Six or seven thousand individuals, of every age and sex, flocking together there, elected an Epitropie or municipality to preside over the administration of their indigent colony. As, with the exception of about twenty half-ruined buildings within the castle, there were no habitations, and the Egyptian general, Mustafa Pasha, instantly stationed a considerable body of troops in and around a small fort on the opposite brink of the strait, famine

and disease quickly thinned the miserable population ; upwards of 3000 persons died in the space of six months, and many of the survivors, seeing that they could not subsist on a barren islet, deprived of intercourse with the rest of the world, went back to the Morea or the Cyclades. If Karabusa had no allurement for peaceable residenters, as a military post, and above all a retreat for banditti, it could, nevertheless, boast special advantages. These were — the impregnable position of its citadel on a perpendicular height ; the nature of the anchorage, whose rocky bottom, affording no holding ground, makes it very dangerous for shipping of a moderate draught of water ; the violence of the prevailing winds and currents, rendering a close blockade by sea impracticable. Two Cretans, well known for their intrigues and cunning, (Antoniades and Œconomos,) conceiving a plan of turning these circumstances to their own advantage, bought a schooner on speculation, and sending her out to cruise, she abstracted 7000 dollars from a vessel of Marseilles, bound in ballast to Canea, in February 1826. This was a fortunate debut, but its projectors apprehending disagreeable consequences, several of the remaining families, afraid of being involved in the scrape, departed forthwith, while Antoniades, to remove suspicion from himself, secretly drew up and signed a protest against his subordinate agents on board the schooner, transmitting copies to the French admiral and Captain Hamilton. However, nothing unpleasant followed, Monsieur de Rigny imputing the crime to any but the really guilty parties.

The Karabusans lay quiet for a time, until all mention of it had blown over, and then recommenced their malpractices. Three Sfakiotes, living amongst them, fitted out another privateering schooner, and some exiles belonging to the first Greek houses in Candia

expended the trifling sums they had saved in purchasing mistiks. A new Epitropie was installed of four members (one from each of the provinces of Canea, Apocorona, Kissamos, and Selino), with a native of Constantinople for their secretary; Basil Khalis received the title of president, his brother Yani being named general-in-chief of the Cretan army: Antoniades and Œconomos kept themselves out of sight, but privately directed every thing. At the outset, they limited their depredations to the flags of second-rate powers, such as Rome, Sweden, Spain, or Naples, and many vessels of those countries were either plundered at sea, or carried into Karabusa, stripped of their lading, part of the rigging, the bedding and clothes of their crews, and then turned out, with bread and water enough barely to last for three days. In order to cloak their flagitious deeds, they pretended to be bent on the liberation of Crete, detachments of 150 or 200 men occasionally landing on its shores, killing a stray Turk here and there, and returning to the fort after a brief absence. They took good care to publish these achievements in the Gazette, and by pathetic tales of distress so cleverly imposed on Philhellenic credulity, that money and cargoes of provisions were sent them at various periods to save the garrison from starving, or being compelled to cede the place to the Moslems, who, tired of the annoyance it gave them, actually offered to buy it.* In this way, the banditti for months ran their course unmolested, and had already shared 500,000 piastres, when, in March 1827, the French gabarre Lamproye chased one of their schooners, which she caught pillaging a trader under the batteries, and sunk her by a few broadsides.

* Count Eugene d'Harcourt appropriated to the use of the heroes of Karabusa 4000 francs from the French committee's fund. He was not the only dupe; for, in the summer of 1826, they were twice revictualled through the agency of the author.

As the men escaped, and the gabarre immediately sailed away, that solitary and imperfect act of retribution had no effect upon the people of Karabusa, whose fame as bold and successful adventurers attracted fresh shoals of Cretans, as well as the most determined villains of Hydra and Spezzia. They then augmented the number and size of their shipping, and, at the suggestion of Antoniades, organized a system of piracy on a grand scale, every inhabitant of the rock, how poor soever, and even widows, being forced to subscribe to the general fund, out of which small sums were lent to those who had not a farthing of their own, that all might equally partake in delinquency. The Epitropie divided the spoil with strict impartiality, setting aside one-fifth for the communal chest, and distributing the rest among the multitude of partners, according to the amount of their respective shares. Twenty brigs and schooners, and fifty or sixty small craft, forming the capital of this joint-stock company, scoured the Egean, and, paying no respect to flags, daily brought in prizes of all nations. When foreigners no longer traversed the adjacent seas without convoy, they went in search of booty to the coasts of Sicily or Syria, and meditated exploring the Atlantic Ocean. Karabusa attained the plenitude of her scandalous prosperity about the month of September, when the mistiks had gradually disappeared, and in their stead were substituted some of the best Greek men-of-war, transferred to the purposes of brigandage by deeds of sale, which were mostly thought to be fictitious, and intended to conceal the fact of their owners being concerned in such infamous transactions. The community possessed eight well-armed brigs and forty fine schooners; a town of 200 dwellings suddenly sprung up at the port, where before there had been but one old Venetian magazine, and the castle contained 246 solid houses, built in the form of an amphitheatre.

Coffee-shops, and taverns in abundance, resounded day and night with the noise of drunken revelry, and spacious warehouses were erected for depositing goods, which, notwithstanding the perpetual affluence of chapmen, could not be removed fast enough. The speculators drove very advantageous bargains, few of the venders knowing the value of the articles allotted them; and sundry individuals, who had languished for years in abject penury, were now enabled, through this traffic, to wallow in luxury. A curious instance of the easy union of knavery with superstition, was exhibited in the devotion with which the pirates worshipped the Virgin under the appellation of Panaghia Kleftrina (or patroness of thieves), decorating her chapel, on the pinnacle of the rock, with silver shrines and chandeliers of crystal, as though they wished to bribe her into complicity. The whole fee-simple of Greece would not have compensated the damage inflicted on Western commerce, since we have been assured on good authority, that 487 merchant ships (93 of them English) were discharged of their lading in that den of iniquity, exclusive of others overhauled at sea, and not deemed worth the trouble of bringing into the harbour. Two of the crews of these last, under French and Sardinian colours, were massacred. During nine months the Karabusans lost only one privateer, sunk by the American corvette Warren, and then her men got away in boats. Whether they were glutted with plunder, or terrified by Admiral Codrington's menaces, certain it is, that, after the end of September, their activity and rapacity sensibly diminished, and they applied themselves in earnest to the conquest of Candia, which hitherto had been an empty pretence.

Upon the island's submission, first Hussein Bey, and next Ibrahim Pasha, sought to conciliate the Rayas by gentle treatment, and employing armed Christians to

maintain its internal police ; but neither they nor their successor, Mustafa Pasha, could re-establish tranquillity, for as soon as one canton was pacified, tumults broke out in another. The occupation of Karabusa by the insurgents encouraged the Cretan malecontents, and Mustafa Pasha's precautionary measure of throwing into prison several of their turbulent chiefs irritated the Sfakiotes. Bands of Klefts rose in every quarter, and harassed the Turks by nocturnal attacks, ambuscades, ravaging their estates, and stealing their sheep. Supposing that the Allies would extend the benefits of any final arrangement to all Greeks actually in arms, the Cretan leaders sent deputies to offer Colonel Heydeck the command, which he declined, promising, however, to support them with ammunition and provisions. A similar proposal was then made to Fabvier, but he could not accept it, because he had entered into a compact with the Sciotes. Unable to obtain a foreign officer to head their army, but aided by Cochrane, the deputies hired 2000 irregular troops, and transported them to Karabusa. Their junction with the piratical force constituted a body of 4000 men, who were put under the orders of Yani Khalis, assisted by eight influential captains, and destined to kindle an insurrection in the eastern districts, whence it was sure to spread to the western provinces. One day's voyage wafted them to the roads of St Nicholas, in the canton of Mirabella, where they landed (December the 2d), and, pushing detachments towards Girapetra and Spinalunga, slaughtered all the Mussulmans they met with. The commandant of Mirabel retreating into a tower with 160 Turks, they invested and battered it with a 48lb. carronade, brought ashore from Tombazi's schooner, the Terpsichore. On the 5th, the Pasha of Candia's Kihaya, advancing to relieve the besieged, was routed, and abandoned in his flight three fieldpieces, a howitzer,

36 prisoners, 150 mules, and his baggage. Next day those in the tower demanded a capitulation, which was granted on condition of their laying down their arms, surrendering their money, and being allowed to go in safety to the city of Candia.

The Greek chiefs swore solemnly in presence of a priest to observe these terms, but it is alleged that they had agreed to violate their oath, and that the treacherous design was disclosed through the anxiety of an Albanian soldier to preserve the life of a Moslem, whom he recognised as a fellow-countryman, and former acquaintance. Captain Jacobus Kumis, of Selino, going into the tower with twenty Roumeliotes to receive the weapons of the Turks, the latter fell upon his party, slew nine, and wounded him in the belly with the thrust of a yataghan. Of course the treaty was broken off, and the siege resumed, but after resisting for twenty-four hours more, the garrison came forth in despair, and submitted to be butchered with a degree of passive resignation engendered by the Mohammedan doctrine of fatalism. However, twenty Arnauts were spared, owing to the interference of the Roumeliote Greeks.

Just after the reduction of Mirabel, Captain Malekouti of Messara arrived in the camp at the head of 1200 Cretans, mostly refugees from the east of the island, who had been residing at Naxos and Milos. As he would not acknowledge the authority of Khalis, and a violent dissension thereupon ensued between the Eastern and Western Cretans, who have a rooted antipathy to each other, whole companies deserted, roaming up and down the country, and fleecing the Christian peasants. Meanwhile, a Bey having marched from Candia with 1500 Ottomans, Khalis went to encounter him, followed by twice as many soldiers, and took post, on the 21st, at Moho, a village seated on

the bank of a river beyond which the enemy was encamped.

Here the troops finding plenty of wine, and drinking to intoxication, the Roumeliotes, out of bravado, crossed the stream, the Cretans remaining on the hither bank. Next morning the Greeks were attacked by the Turks, totally routed, and numbers of them drowned. Three brooks unite near the field of battle, and as it had rained hard in the night, all who tried to wade the torrent below the point of confluence were swept away, while those who fled higher up repassed it without difficulty. They confessed the loss of 100 men, but we have been told by an eye-witness, that it in reality was five times as great, and fell principally on the Roumeliotes; their artillery was left on the field. This defeat unhinging their plans, Malekouti withdrew to Messara, and the forces of Karabusa reimbarked, and returned thither.

Surmises that the Christian powers were preparing to chastise them, now gained ground among the pirates, and a wish to quit the rock in time prevailing pretty generally, the members of their Epitropie, which had begun to entitle itself the Council of Crete, contemplated a second expedition against the Turks. Taught by their recent failure how vain it was to hope for victory without the assistance of the Sfakiotes, they made pressing overtures to those mountaineers, who, setting a high value on their own services, stipulated—1. That the council should defray the expense of the war.—2. That the auxiliary troops should land in the territory of Sfakia.—3. That as soon as Candia was in a state to draw on her own resources, a sum of money, or, in lieu of it, a proportionate quantity of oil, should be paid them.

These terms being ratified, the Epitropie imposed a forced loan upon the people of Karabusa, giving in

return written obligations, assigning to the holders of them the enjoyment of certain mills, vineyards, and olive-grounds on the estates of Mussulman proprietors. About as many mercenaries were levied for this as the former expedition, with the addition of 100 horsemen, commanded by Hadji Mikhali, whose name, as a leader of irregular cavalry, must be familiar to our readers.

He arrived in January 1828, having spoken off Monemvasia the British line-of-battle ship Warspite, conveying Count Capodistria to Greece. Every thing being ready, the troops were on the eve of embarking when an unwelcome visit overturned the project. Justly considering Karabusa to be an intolerable nuisance, and a foul blot prejudicial to Hellenic interests, the new President requested the Allies to root out the swarm of vulgar malefactors, punish their ringleaders, and put the fortress into the hands of government, and during his abode at Malta he concerted measures with the admirals. Commodore Sir Thomas Staines was despatched upon this service with three frigates (the Isis of 50, Cambrian 48, and Rattlesnake of 28 guns), and two brigs, accompanied by a French squadron of one corvette, a brig, and two schooners, under Monsieur de Reverseaux; at Cerigo he took on board a small detachment of infantry (two officers and fifty-eight men of the 51st regiment), and Giulio Kassimati, director of police in that island, whose intimate knowledge of the Cretan character rendered him eminently useful. Mavrocordato joined the commodore from Egina on the 30th of January, in quality of commissioner on the part of the Greek government, and charged by Capodistria to arrange matters as quietly as possible. The squadron's appearance dismayed the robbers, who would gladly have escaped, but, the sea being closed, it now only remained for them either to

deceive the Allies by some subterfuge, or oppose open resistance. Sir Thomas wrote to the council, that he did not in the least intend to impede their military operations in Candia, which he would, on the contrary, favour as far as he could with propriety; that his sole object was to suppress piracy, and prevent its recurrence; wherefore he summoned them to deliver up their vessels, and all the plundered merchandise in the place, as well as the persons of twelve individuals supposed to be most deeply implicated, and of whom he annexed a list.

So artfully had Antoniades masked his proceedings, that his name was not in the catalogue; and as he had lately come from the Morea with Hadji Mikhali, the council deputed him to negotiate with the commodore, trusting that he would procure better terms by working upon Captain Hamilton's sympathy. Going on board the Isis, he asserted with unblushing effrontery, that none of the vessels in port were corsairs, and that neither a single pirate, nor any stolen article whatever, could be found on the islet. After this impudent preamble, which, being contradicted by positive information, cast suspicions on his veracity, he, in the name of the Cretan council, begged the English not to injure the shipping, but to suffer it to carry to Sfakia the corps of Hadji Mikhali, promising that it should then be given up, and the castle surrendered to an officer regularly commissioned by the president. Hamilton strongly advised compliance with the proposal; but the old commodore, sticking inflexibly to the letter of his instructions, insisted on having the vessels instantly, and perceiving that the Epitropie sought delay, made a signal for action on the afternoon of the 31st. When the crew of the Isis went to quarters, Mavrocordato, deprecating hostilities, almost fell on his knees before Sir Thomas, who placed a sentinel over him

in the cabin, and standing in close-hauled on the starboard tack, with a fresh south-westerly breeze, opened his fire on the Greek shipping, the rest of his squadron following, and giving their broadsides in succession. This manœuvre bringing the Isis close to a sunken rock called Taighani, on the Candian side of the strait, she was obliged suddenly to go about, and in doing so fell aboard the Cambrian, the next in line. Staines, ordering the latter's spanker-boom to be cut away, thereby saved his own ship, her sails filling again; but the Cambrian missed stays, dropped to leeward, and struck upon the reef: the Rattlesnake coming up at the same time was nearly entangled, drifted past the wreck into the harbour, and let go her anchor in eighty fathoms.

Notwithstanding this mischance, the commodore captured or destroyed the whole of the vessels in port, amounting to twelve; the Terpsichore blew up, either through design or accident, three brigs or schooners were burnt, three sunk, and five towed outside by the English and French boats, and sent to Malta: most of the piratical craft had previously absconded, and gone to other islands, where their owners speedily sold them. All exertions to float off the Cambrian proved unavailing; the wind increasing to a gale, attended with a heavy swell, it was judged necessary to remove the ship's company during the night, and on the 1st of February she went to pieces. The most ticklish part of the business, namely, dislodging the thieves, and arresting their ringleaders, was still to be accomplished, and could not be effected by compulsion, for out of a population of 7000 souls, dwelling on the rock, and provisioned for two months, full 2800 were fighting men: it is true, a majority of them was willing to emigrate, but it did not suit Sir Thomas's views to let any depart until he had seized the twelve persons

designated as the instigators of their nefarious conduct; besides that, a diminution of their number would make a blockade exceedingly tedious. He continued to demand the prime malefactors, while Antoniades, who acted as spokesman for the Cretan council, persisted in affirming they were absent.

After a few days, the corvette, Hydra, brought to Karabusa a company of Greek regulars, commanded by Colonel Urquhart, whom Capodistria had appointed governor of the fort, directing him to co-operate with the commodore in every measure. The principal pirates then assembling in the house of Antoniades to deliberate how they should receive the governor, resolved to admit him with only twelve men: however, Urquhart, whose manners and address were prepossessing, harangued them to such good purpose, that they allowed him to march his whole company into the castle. This step did not mend matters much, since no dependance could be placed on his handful of ill disciplined, ill affected soldiers, and therefore it seemed an essential point to introduce a body of Englishmen. Some disputes betwixt the Taktiki and irregulars affording a handle for the allies to interfere, about 100 seamen and marines were landed one morning, and ascended the hill. The Greeks, shutting the gate, and pointing cannon and muskets from the bastions, called out to them to halt; but Captain Strangeways, who headed the column, steadily advancing, two Cretans (Yani Khalis, and Papa Martinianos,) went out to reason with him, when, the moment the gate was unbarred, the marines entered at double quick time, with fixed bayonets, an armed multitude that thronged the main street giving way before them. Looking round for a tenable position, Strangeways pitched upon a solitary chapel, in the midst of three cisterns which supplied the garrison with water, and no choice could have been more

fortunate, for the Greeks, erroneously believing that he was aware of the circumstance, one-third of them immediately left the fort, and many others followed the example during the next night. On the succeeding day, a reinforcement of 120 English, and 80 French sailors was sent up, making, with Urquhart's company, a force of 400 men. A guard, stationed at the gate, was ordered to grant free egress, but not to let a single Greek enter, except Antoniades, who, as an intermediate agent, had liberty to pass when he pleased. On the 3d of March, a melancholy accident caused the death of Colonel Urquhart, crushed under the ruins of his house, which a sudden gust of wind blew down: Captain Hane replaced him as commandant of Karabusa.

After the Allies got hold of the castle, several Cretans, conscious of the prominent part they had acted, endeavoured to steal away in small barks, but were thwarted by the squadron's vigilance; whereupon, seeing no chance of escape, they framed a scheme for rising upon the Franks, and in order to irritate the people, spread a report, that every man in the islet was to be hanged at the yard-arms of the different ships. Antoniades conducted the conspiracy, and hatched an infernal machination. He proposed to sink a mine under a building, where the French were all quartered together, and to spring it when it was the turn of the English to do duty; then to shoot the sentries by a fire from the houses still occupied by 700 or 800 of the most courageous bandits, and to attack the guard: the explosion was to be a signal for half the men below to climb the bastions, and assist in the massacre, while the other half should obstruct the landing of reinforcements, until the women and children took refuge in the fort. Once masters of it, they expected that their batteries would oblige the squadron to get under

weigh. The attempt was fixed for the night of the 5th, but they had admitted so many persons into the secret, that Kassimati, who kept numerous spies in pay, detected the plot just in time to defeat it. Warned by a message from the commodore, Strangeways hastened, an hour after sunset, to the French quarter, and caught Antoniades, with two or three of his associates, in the very fact of laying a barrel of gunpowder beneath it: he took them into custody, alarmed the French, doubled his posts, and, searching the ground narrowly, discovered twelve eight-inch shells, ready charged. The Greeks in the town were awaiting the signal, when a man contrived to descend unobserved, and communicate what had happened above; upon which the two brothers, Khalis, and some others, including six whom Sir Thomas was in quest of, jumped into boats, and, favoured by darkness, effected their evasion, and crossed the strait to Candia. On the morning of the 6th, 200 additional seamen marched up, and the commodore directed Strangeways to expel the Greeks from the castle, and strictly examine them as they went forth, by which means five individuals, inscribed in his black list, were arrested, three at the gate, and two in the lower town. The last of the twelve, an ecclesiastic, named Papa Gregorius, having shaved his beard, had stowed himself away on board Tombazi's brig, the Leonidas, which came to Karabusa for a cargo of goods, although, finding the Allies there, her captain pretended that his errand was to embark Hadji Mikhali's troops.

In consequence of private intelligence she was searched, the priest apprehended in the disguise of an old woman, and, as well as Antoniades and the other prisoners, put in irons. The fort being cleared, and the most obnoxious offenders either fled or in custody, Sir Thomas gave all who chose leave to depart, a permission of which the Greeks availed themselves with

the utmost rapidity. Every bark found full employment; in two days half the population vanished, and in the space of a week there remained only a few of the poorest class: Hadji Mikhali and his mercenaries sailed on the 11th. On the 12th, the English brig Cameleon and the French brig Volage were despatched to Loutro, where they captured a piratical brig, and brought her in. As the Greek regulars behaved ill, purloining whatever they could lay their hands on, they too were turned out of the castle, and the commodore ordered 193 of the houses in it to be demolished, lest at a future period the brigands should be tempted to re-establish themselves in their former nest. A party of sailors setting to work on the 15th, by the 1st of April converted the interior of the fortress into a heap of ruins. All neutral property that could be brought to light was registered, packed up, and forwarded to Malta; but, exclusive of an enormous quantity previously shipped off, a great deal was spoiled, scattered about the streets, or buried under ground. An inventory, drawn up by the pursers of the Isis and Pomone, exhibited the following catalogue of recovered merchandise, viz. 1047 pieces of muslin, plain and flowered —205 ditto of cotton cloth—456 ditto printed calicoes—42 ditto cambric and gauze—7 ditto nankin—50 ditto broad cloth and velvet—4 ditto satin—10 ditto linen cloth—32 shawls—2240lbs. of coffee; besides a miscellaneous mass of indigo, cochineal, spices, drugs, plate, watches, mirrors, spy-glasses, mathematical and surgical instruments, paper, hemp, nails, steel, tin, cases of champagne, &c.

As the thieves were ignorant of the taste of chocolate, they used the cakes to strap their razors on, and pulled in pieces the mathematical instruments for the shake of sharing the screws! While the Augæan stable of Karabusa was thus cleansed, Count Capodistria, by adopting a like course, stopped the career of

the Olympians. In the beginning of March, Miaulis, visiting Skopelos and Skyros, with the Hellas frigate and two gun-boats, confiscated seventy-eight armed craft (schooners, mistiks, praams, and trattas,) and reserving thirty-seven for the service of government, sunk or burnt the rest. These two examples of vigour, and the alacrity with which the foreign squadrons henceforth chased pirates, struck a panic into the smaller fry: the herd of obscure depredators shrinking from pursuit, renounced their guilty trade, and sought an honester livelihood. By assimilating the navigation laws of Greece to those sanctioned in civilized states, and enforcing their observance under heavy penalties, the president eradicated the evil, and within six months after his accession to power, security reigned in the Egean. It is certain that the delinquents were very gently treated: none suffered death by a judicial sentence, and the ringleaders taken at Karabusa, and sent to Egina for trial, subsequently regained their liberty, and were thrown back on society.

As a complement to this final chapter, we shall narrate the progress of Hadji Mikhali's expedition, and the sanguinary war he lighted up in Crete. On his expulsion from Karabusa, he disembarked, with his corps of Roumeliotes, at Franco Castello, a dilapidated Venetian fortress on the coast of Sfakia, where he underwent great distress, in vain supplicating the president either to succour him or to authorize his quitting the island. In a laconic reply, his excellency ordered him to maintain that position. His force was not formidable; but his arrival disquieted the mind of the Serasker Mustafa Pasha, apprehensive it would breed a revolt in the western districts, which had not stirred since the overthrow of the insurgents at Moho. Determined not to lose his footing in Candia, the viceroy, Mohammed Ali, took care his general should want for nothing.

On the 24th of February a schooner deposited at Canea 4000 Spanish doubloons and 600,000 piastres, in Turkish coin, for the payment of the Egyptian troops, and two days after an Alexandrian squadron of two frigates, three corvettes, four brigs, three schooners, and twenty transports, entered the bay of Suda, laden with grain, rice, and clothing. Thus provided for a campaign, the Serasker, in the middle of April, marched, with 2000 men, to Neokhori, in Apocorona, and, halting there, sent the Sfakiotes word, that if they did not drive away Hadji Mikhali, he would invade their territory. Two parties balanced each other in Sfakia, one wishing to live at peace with the Turks, while the adverse faction desired a rupture, and looked for European support. This difference of opinion neutralizing their tribe, they neither obeyed the Pasha's injunctions, nor gave the least assistance to the Roumeliotes, who had to rely for their daily subsistence on the good offices of Captain Hane, being supplied with a little gunpowder and maize flour from the Karabusan magazines.

Perceiving he must resort to arms, and yet reluctant to appear the aggressor, Mustafa advanced to the borders of Sfakia, and occupied the frontier village of Askouphi, whither he convoked the Ottoman militia from the central and eastern Pashaliks.

Meanwhile Hadji Mikhali's soldiers, desperate through hunger, mutinied, and threatened, if relief did not come, to seize the boats at Loutro, and leave Crete, with or without his consent. Compelled by their violence to risk an offensive movement, and, notwithstanding his disparity of strength, feed them at the enemy's expense, he placed 100 soldiers in Franc llo, and, with the residue of h amou 00 infantry and 100 horse, h ari into the government c v

that he surprised (May the 21st) the satrap of that province, who, at the head of 500 men, was on his way to join the Serasker. Having no notice of the approach of the Greeks until they were in the midst of the camp, the Turks were instantly routed, forty slain or taken, (among the latter a Bey of Candia,) their baggage plundered, and the fugitives chased to Rhetymo. The Roumeliotes, who lost but one man, reaped the standing corn, collected 20,000 sheep, and returned to their stronghold.

After this affair, Mustafa Pasha, no longer feeling any scruples about encroaching on Sfakia, proceeded, with 5000 infantry, 300 cavalry, two fieldpieces, and a howitzer, to Pazzano, two miles from Franco Castello, and pitched his tents there on the 28th. As the court of the castle, which is not above eighty feet square, was filled with sheep, Hadji Mikhali posted the whole of his troops outside, but in a very injudicious manner; his 500 infantry being dispersed in five tambourias at more than musket-shot distance from each other, his cavalry on the right flank, and not a single man staying in the fort. Next morning, the Mussulman infantry advanced in two heavy columns towards the centre of his line, their horse facing that of the insurgents. The redoubt against which the Pasha directed his onset was defended by Captain Kyriakouli with 100 picked soldiers, who, binding themselves under an anathema to conquer or die on that spot, actually tied their legs together in a chain with their girdles. This dire resolution did not retard their defeat, but rendered it more bloody; for the enemy's first column of Arnauts and Candiotes rushing forwards sword in hand, without firing a shot, cut them down before they could reload their muskets; one alone infringed his oath and fled, the others fell in

a row as they had stood.* The Greeks in the four tambourias to the right and left then hurried towards the fort; while the Turks, who were nearer, ran to seize the gate, which if they had done, not a Roumeliote would have escaped. Hadji Mikhali, sensible too late of the badness of his dispositions, essayed a diversion by charging at the head of his cavalry that of the Mohammedans, and put it to flight, though thrice as numerous as his own. However, he had no leisure to improve the advantage, the danger of his infantry obliging him to gallop back full speed. An officer named Balascas, accompanied by two horsemen, got into the gateway just as the Moslems reached it, killed the Pasha's chief standard-bearer in the act of planting his bayrak, seized the colours, and kept the enemy at bay until his comrades came up: the Turkish troopers, having wheeled about and rallied, were hard at their heels, the Pasha's second column united with the first, and a furious melee ensued. It being impossible amidst the dust and smoke to distinguish friends from foes, the Ottoman foot soldiers fired on their own cavalry as well as on the insurgents, and most of the horses on both sides were slain.

At length the carnage ceased; 270 Roumeliotes, thirty of whom were wounded, sheltered themselves in the castle, and the Turks withdrew out of musket range, their attention being drawn to the rear by a rush which the Sfakiotes of the village of Comitades made upon their tents as soon as the fight began. Three hundred and thirty-eight Greeks lay dead on the field; Hadji Mikhali† was literally hacked in pieces, and his

* Eleven months after the combat, a person who visited this scene of slaughter still found some of the withered skeletons linked with shreds of sashes.

† Hadji Mikhali was born in Epirus; a merchant before the revolution, he spent his property in the cause of Greece.

head presented to the Pasha ; almost all the horsemen and four captains of infantry perished ; five Sfakiotes were killed and thirteen wounded, in attacking the enemy's camp. The victors suffered quite as much ; but on account of their numbers the sacrifice of men did not equally affect them.

On the 30th, Mustafa brought down his ordnance, and cannonaded the fort, whose defenders were in a doleful predicament ; they had a superfluity of mutton, but neither wood nor water to cook it ; were crammed into a narrow space with thousands of sheep, scorched by the sun, reduced to drink out of a marshy puddle, and suffocated by the stench of the dead bodies of 700 men and 300 horses rotting beneath the wall. Boats appeared in the offing, but the enemy's artillery and shallowness of the sea hindered their approach. There was only the alternative of endeavouring to gain the mountains during the night, or accepting honourable terms, which the Pasha offered ; the former idea was rejected, because they must have left the sick and wounded behind, and they were afraid to trust the Turks. A soldier swam out to the boats with a letter imploring the commandment of Karabusa to obtain the interposition of some allied ships of war, but this Captain Hane could not procure, and they were, in fine, under the necessity of capitulating, on condition, that as soon as the fort was surrendered, and the Mussulman captives in their possession restored, they should embark for Sfakia with arms and baggage, binding themselves, however, not to serve again in Crete against the forces of the Sultan or Viceroy of Egypt. Prompted by that kindly feeling, which in the East natives of the same village or canton, when at a distance from home, invariably entertain for each other, although differing in faith and fighting under opposite banners, several Arnauts of the Serasker's body-guard gave them-

selves up as hostages, and the Greeks marched out on the 5th of June. Mustafa Pasha displayed a noble character, bestowing loaves of bread upon them, and causing his soldiers to assist into the boats those whom wounds or sickness disabled from walking; twenty Christian Albanians volunteered with him, and the rest of the garrison landed in the evening at Loutro. We may safely affirm, that in no part of the contest was so much valour and generosity shown as at Franco Castello.

On the 6th, the Serasker commenced his retreat, and indeed it was high time, for while he was employed in the siege, the Sfakiotes and guerillas of other districts, assembling to the number of 2000, occupied the defiles of Mount Ida. He sent a message to them, protesting that his expedition had been solely directed against Hadji Mikhali, and promising pardon and oblivion of the past to all who would go home; a proposition that they laughed at, resolved as they were to have his baggage. At five o'clock in the afternoon the Turks assailed the defile of Khalara, but after an action of two hours were repulsed with a loss of fifty men. Next morning the Pasha renewed his pacific overtures, and as they were again spurned, made a fresh attack in three columns, and at the price of the lives of 100 of his soldiers got through that pass; but there was still a worse one to be traversed near Palæocastron, and in an attempt upon it (June the 8th), he sustained a defeat; 400 of his troops were killed, and 43 taken, with a portion of his ammunition, which last proved a seasonable capture to the Sfakiotes, who were short of powder. The Ottomans being now enclosed in a valley destitute of water, and without any food, save the flesh of their sumpter mules, Mustafa, calling together his chiefs, told them, that the only hope rested on abandoning their baggage to the enemy's cupidity, [illegible]f that resource fail-

ed, they must lay down their arms; adding a remark, "that they were not the first who had done so." However, the stratagem succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations, for the Greeks, dazzled by the sight of the spoil spread before them, neither impeded nor pursued his march to Rhetymo; thus, for the paltry consideration of dividing a few dollars per man, throwing away a sure prospect of conquering their island; since if they had destroyed the Serasker's army, even the fortresses would have lain at their mercy. In the whole expedition, which lasted a fortnight, he lost 1100 of his best troops, his artillery, tents, and materiél of every sort, and of 300 cavalry horses, scarcely brought back forty. The engagements, posterior to the surrender of Franco Castello, did not cost the insurgents above twenty men, but three captains of Sfakia received dangerous wounds.

[We have now carried the history of Modern Greece to the epoch of her virtual emancipation from the Turkish yoke, when, through the formal recognition of three great powers, she was admitted into the family of European states. The grand object, for whose accomplishment the Hetœria sounded the tocsin of 1821, was then fulfilled; but the revolution had not terminated, and is not yet finished, although four melancholy years have since elapsed, during which that unhappy country has been made a football for diplomacy to play with. At present there seems a probability of seeing a regular and permanent government established; should such hopes be verified, the author may perhaps attempt to describe in a future volume the events of this latter period from the accession of Count Capodistria to that of King Otho.]

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK VII.—CHAP. V.

(No. I.)—*Letter from Sir Edward Codrington to the Greek Government, dated on board His Britannic Majesty's Ship the Asia, off Navarin, September the 30th*, 1827.

CAPTAIN DAVIS of the Rose sloop-of-war will communicate to you circumstantial proofs, how ill the Greeks behave to our countrymen, while the ships of war of the allied powers are employed in affording protection to Greece. I have learned that there is not a single Hydriote ship * with the Greek fleet for the service of the country, while the piracies committed by the inhabitants of that and other islands have increased and reached the highest degree. I request you to look at your own decrees, and see whether they contain any thing which can justify your secretary of the marine, Glaraki, who signs the letters of marque, particularly at a moment when the Hydriotes must expect an attack upon their island. In these letters of marque, Glaraki orders that the flags of nations in amity with you shall not be molested, and yet you know as well as I do, that these ships cruise only against friendly flags, and have not the smallest intention of injuring the enemy. But under such circumstances words avail nothing. I am resolved positively not to permit any Greek vessel, under any pretence whatever, to cruise as a privateer, by whatever authority it may have been licensed. So long as the world has stood, there have been no more scandalous hostilities than those carried on under the Greek flag; and if, instead of the support which you have hitherto given to this disgraceful system, you do not do every thing possible to put an end to it, I shall proceed with the greatest rigour to take such measures as I shall think the best calculated for the protection of commerce. But be convinced, gentlemen, that a day of reckoning will come, when those who have favoured these infamous transactions will be called to account for the injury which they have thereby done to

* The Admiral was in error on this point, as most of Cochrane's squadron consisted of Hydriote vessels.

the commercial world in general; and in which you yourselves will have to give an account before the National Assembly of the manner in which affairs have been conducted under your government.

(Signed) CODRINGTON.

(No. II.)—*Letter from Admiral de Rigny to the Members of the Commission of the Greek Government, dated October the 8th*, 1827.

GENTLEMEN,

While the fleets of his most Christian Majesty and his Britannic Majesty are occupied in preventing the Ottoman fleets and armies from approaching Hydra, Napoli, and the other ports of the Peloponnesus which are in the power of the Greeks, I see, with astonishment, each day more and more, that Greek ships, instead of flying to the assistance of those points which are threatened, disperse themselves abroad like regular pirates, in parts most distant from them, and continue to pillage merchant and neutral vessels.

I learn that, independent of the English and other ships recently plundered, seven French ships have just been sacked and pillaged in the open sea, and taken before the prize court at Egina. The treaty signed by the powers has for its object, as is clearly expressed by the commencement of it, to put an end to these piracies, which compromise the safety of navigation. It is therefore the duty of the commanders of the allied fleets to employ every means in their power to attain that end.

Vice-Admiral Codrington has already made you acquainted with his sentiments on that subject. We consider it a duty to leave to the Greeks the right of defending that part of their territory which has taken up arms in the present struggle; we only require that their means of defence shall not be hostile to the neutral flags, which for a long time have been solely exposed to the maritime excursions of the Greeks. When we concede to the Greeks the right of watching over the defence, and the blockade of their shores, from Volo to Lepanto, at a distance of from ten to twelve miles at sea, they have all the space which they can require. It is within these limits that their cruisers ought to confine themselves. We can no longer suffer them, under the pretext of a blockade, or a cruise against Turkish cargoes, to go to a greater distance in quest of adventures, and to attack in all parts of the Mediterranean neutral flags engaged in commerce with the Ottoman empire. It is only permitted to seize munitions of war provided for the Turks, but as under this pretext not only have they gone far out of their road, but have pillaged vessels whose cargoes came not within that description, as has frequently occurred in the cases of

neutral ships taken before the prize court of Napoli; where, if they escaped a regular condemnation, they were exposed to be pillaged anew, as happened to some French ships whose papers were destroyed. I have therefore to announce to you, that any French ship, whatever be the object of its voyage, is not to be arrested by a Greek corsair, nor to be conducted before a prize court, there to be judged; and that even in case munitions of war were found on board, the cause is not to be proceeded with till I have been informed of it, and can myself look into the affair, when you may be assured of my justice and impartiality.

It would be, indeed, an extraordinary spectacle, if, while we take upon ourselves the care of protecting the islands of Hydra and Spezzia, their ships should act in a hostile manner towards our ships, and their prize courts should prescribe to France the limits within which her commerce is to be confined. I am anxious therefore, gentlemen, to declare to you, 1st. That I shall regard as null all letters of marque granted to a corsair; 2d. That Greek ships which may go beyond the line traced, of eleven or twelve miles from the shores, from Volo to Lepanto, will be seized and confiscated, according to the circumstances of the case; 3d. That the islands of Hydra and Spezzia shall be made responsible for piracies committed by Hydriotes and Spezziotes. In communicating to you, gentlemen, these resolutions, I have to request you will make them known to Hydra and Spezzia, and I anxiously hope I shall not be compelled to adopt the severe measures directed by my government in case of necessity.

I have the honour to be,

H. De Rigny.

Rear-admiral commanding the French fleet.

(No. III.)—*Letter from the three Allied Admirals to the Greek Government, dated Port of Navarin, October the 24th*, 1827.

Gentlemen!

We have learned with much indignation, that while the squadrons of the allied powers were destroying the Ottoman fleet, which had not thought proper to observe an armistice (de facto), Greek corsairs have not ceased to infest the seas, and that the Prize Court, the only tribunal recognised by the Greek law, has sought pretexts for justifying these excesses under legal forms.

Your provisional government seems to believe that the commanders of the allied squadrons are not agreed on the measures proper to be taken, in order to terminate this system of pillage. It deceives itself;

for we now unanimously declare, that we will not suffer you, under any pretext, to extend the theatre of war—that is to say, the circle of your piracies.

We will not suffer Greece to send any expedition to cruise, nor to blockade, except between Lepanto and Volo, comprehending Salamis, Egina, Hydra, and Spezzia. We will not suffer the Greeks to carry insurrection either into Scio or Albania, to expose, by so doing, the population to the cruel reprisals of the Turks. We regard as null and void all letters of marque given to cruisers found beyond the above limits; and the ships of war of the allied powers will have everywhere orders to detain them. There remains no longer any pretence for them.

The maritime armistice is, in fact, observed on the side of the Turks, since their fleet no longer exists. Take care of yours, for we will destroy it also, if the case requires it, to put an end to a system of maritime pillage, which will end by putting you out of the protection of the law of nations. Your present provisional government being deprived of every sort of power, it is to the legislative body that we address these last and irrevocable resolutions. As to the Tribunal of Prizes, we believe it incompetent to decide on the case of any of our ships, without our participation.

(Signed) De Rigny.
E. Codrington.
Heyden.

(No. IV.)—*Proclamation of Lord Cochrane, dated on board the Hellas, October the 29th*, 1827.

The destruction of the Ottoman fleet by that of the allied powers having delivered the Greek fleet from the cares which had necessarily occupied its attention, and the commander of the maritime forces of Greece having the right to take due measures for the extinction of piracy, to preserve the honour of the state, and to protect the lives and property of maritime friendly states, it is now made known, that ships of less than 100 tons are not to have arms on board, at least until they are provided with express commissions, registered and numbered in such a manner that the number shall be conspicuously fixed in the interior of the ship.

All vessels of this description which shall be found at sea with arms will be considered as pirates, and the persons on board shall be brought to trial, and, if found guilty, executed. The national fleet is charged with the execution of this decree.

(Signed) Cochrane.

(No. V.)—*Decree of the Greek Government.*

The vice-governing commission decrees,—The practice of cruising, formerly rendered necessary by the enemy's hostilities, has now become superfluous, since the destruction of the hostile fleet by the valiant admirals of the Allied powers, wherefore it is entirely prohibited in future to Greek ships of war. The naval officers of Greece are hereby warned and commanded not to cruise, nor dare in any way, or under any pretext, to meddle with neutral flags. The officers employed in blockades are ordered not to go beyond the limits assigned them, nor to detain any neutral vessel, except such as may attempt to break the blockade. The maritime tribunal is henceforth restricted from judging prizes, unless they be taken in the act of violating blockades.

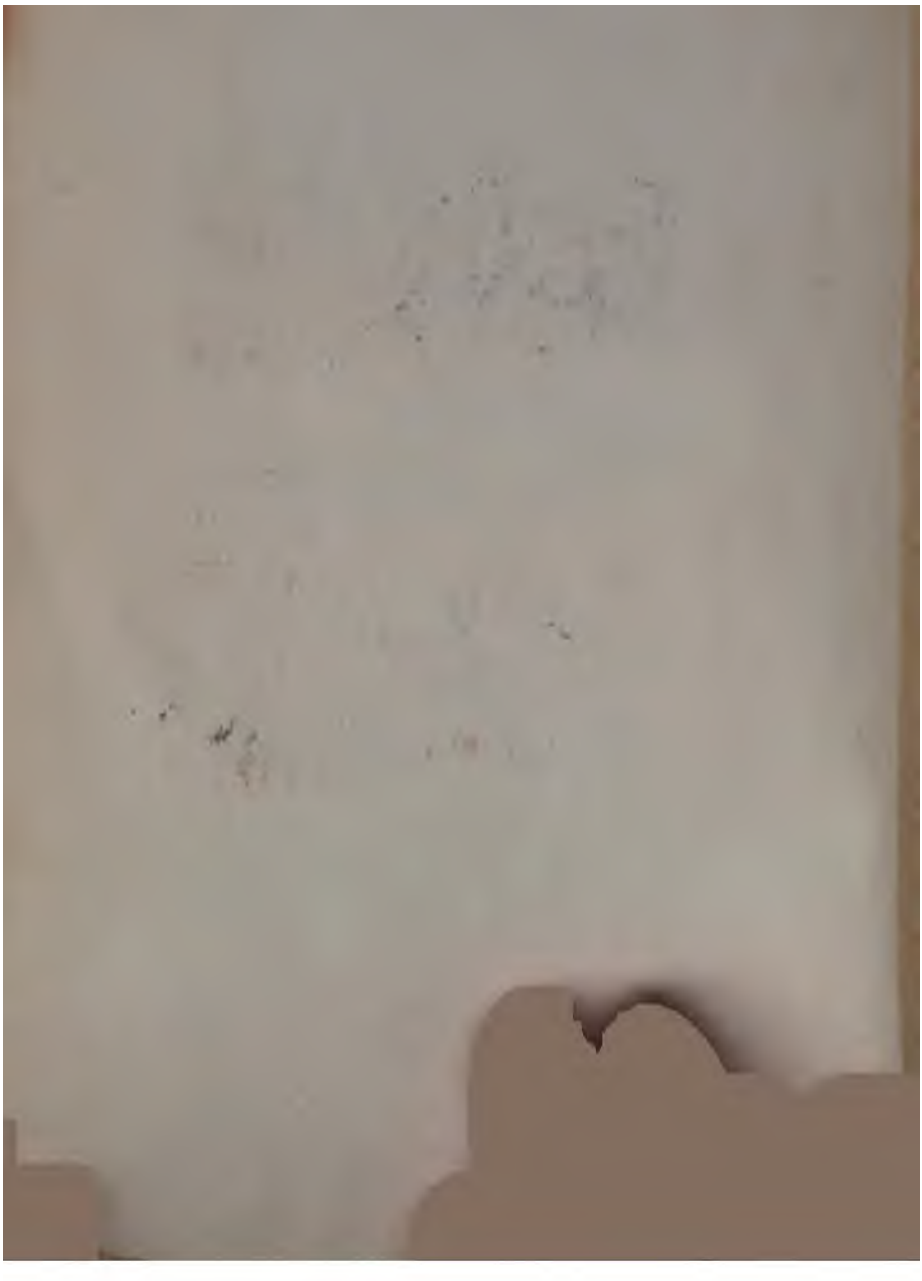
(Signed) GEORGE MAVROMIKHALIS.
JOHN M. MILAITIS.
YANNOALIS NAKOS.

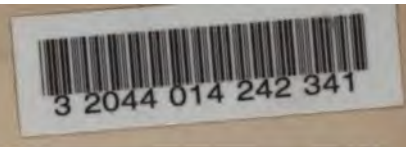
(Countersigned)
The Secretary of the Department of the Marine,
G. GLARAKIS.

Egina, October 21st, / November 2d, 1827.

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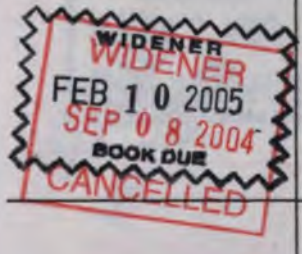




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